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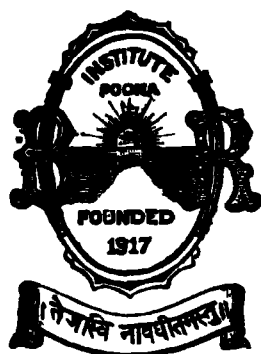
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COLLECTED WORKS
OF
SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR
VOL. III

**COMPRISING EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN AND
MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL ESSAYS**

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PREFATORY NOTE

This is the first volume of the collected works of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to be published, though it is the third in the series of the four volumes over which his works extend. This is because the printing of the first volume, which began towards the middle of 1924, came to be interrupted by reasons beyond the control of the Bhandarkar Institute.

The second volume is now completely printed and it extends to 640 pages. With the necessary Indexes added, that volume too should, in the ordinary course of things, appear within the next two months. The fourth volume is also in press, and one part of it, namely, Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c, is more than half printed, and there is no reason why that part also should not be published before the present year is out. The first volume contains, generally speaking, all of the author's literary writings; the second, practically the whole of the literary part of his Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, and his Socio-literary writings, including some characteristic writings of a religio-philosophic nature. The present volume, the third in order, contains his Early History of the Deccan and his other historical and inscriptional essays. The fourth volume, besides Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c. includes his Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages derived therefrom.

It may be added that the general outlines of the four volumes (with regard to their contents, arrangement, &c.) were settled in close consultation with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar himself. As a matter of fact, the idea of a complete edition of his writings was one of the chief tasks to which the management of the Institute devoted its close and early attention, and was steadily worked out in its initial stages with constant reference to the venerable scholar himself. It must be a matter of deep regret to the management of the Institute, as it undoubtedly is to the present writer, that it did not become possible for the author himself to see a part at least of

this edition published. I still vividly realise the glow of satisfaction and the sense of grateful appreciation that would at times come over the venerable face of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, when it became necessary for us all to consult him on any point connected with his works.

It would be seen that what this Edition contains is practically a mere reprint of the writings as they issued from his hands. It would be presumptuous to say that they are here edited; at the same time, it is evident that some of his writings and statements need to be supplemented in the light of later advance in studies. I have not ventured on anything of that kind here: to me at least, the time would come after all the four volumes are published.

The preliminary matter and the Indexes etc. are, of course, made by me for this volume.

A word of thankful acknowledgement is due to G. N. Shrigondekar, Esqr., B. A., of the Bhandarkar Institute, and Mr. Joglekar, the Head Compositor and his Staff, for the labour and care they have bestowed on this volume. The work is printed at the Institute's own Press, newly started under the fostering care of Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, and, despite the occurrence of a few misprints, the staff is to be congratulated on having successfully and speedily produced this volume, which was amongst its earliest undertakings.

Deccan College, Poona }
 Rsipañcamī, Sake 1849 }
 (1st September 1927)

N. B. UTGIKAR.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME III.

	PAGES.
Detailed Contents of the Early History of the Deccan by the editor according to its different Sections ...	ix
Early History of the Deccan down to the Mahomedan Conquest ...	1
Appendix A : a Note on the Gupta Era ...	176
Appendix B : on the Śaka dates in Inscriptions ..	186
Appendix C : Texts of the Rājaprasāstis from Hemādri's Vratakhanda ...	191
The work done by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society towards the Elucidation of Indian History by the study of Inscriptions ...	199
A Devanāgarī Transcript, Translation, and date of a Valabhi Copperplate and a New Interpretation of the figured dates on the Grants of the Valabhi Dynasty.	214
On two Copperplates from Valabhi ...	239
A Morbi Copperplate with Transcript and Translation..	243
Transcript and Translation of a Copperplate grant of the Fifth Century A D., found in Gujarat ...	246
On the Valabhi Chronology ...	257
A Revised Transcript and Translation of a Cālukya Copperplate grant with remarks on the Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kings of the Cālukya Dynasty ...	261
The Rāstrakūta Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III of Śaka-Samvat 880 ..	275
A Transcript and Translation of the Deoli Plates of the Rāstrakūta King Kṛṣṇa III ...	293
A Revised Transcript and Translation of the Rāstrakūta Deoli Plates of Kṛṣṇa III of Śaka-Samvat 862 ..	306
Two Sets of Rāstrakūta Copperplates from the Navasari District ...	318
The Rāstrakūta King Kṛṣṇa I and Elāpura ...	335

A Kalacuri Copperplate Grant from the Belgaum Dist. .	340
A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java ...	353
A Note on Three bricks with impressions of figures and Letters on these found at Tagoung, some 200 miles above Mandalay in Burma ...	363
On Dr. Hoernle's Version of a Nasik Inscription and the Gāthā Dialect ...	366
The Epoch of the Gupta Era with a Note on Dr. Fleet's Transcript and Translation of the Mandasor Inscription ...	384
A Second Note on the Mandasor Inscription of Nara- varman ...	406
A Memorandum on some Antiquarian remains found in a Mound and in the Brahmapuri Hill, near Kolhapur ...	411
Remarks on the Merkara Copperplate Grant ...	420
A Note on the Ganjam Rock Inscription ...	423
A Transcript and Translation of the Buddhistic Inscrip- tion at Ghosrawan ...	425
Chronology of the Writings included in this Volume ...	429
Abbreviations &c. ...	431
Index I : Index of Places and Geographical Names ...	433
Index II : Index of Sanskrit words and other Proper names of a General Character ...	451
Index III : Index of Ancient authors and works ...	468
Index IV : Index of the names of Scholars and other persons ...	478
Index V : Historical and Subject Index ...	481

Detailed Contents of the Early History of the Deccan.

	Pages
INTRODUCTORY :	1-4
Indigenous Historical Literature of India ..	1
Foreign sources of Indian History ..	2
Inscriptions as the main source of Indian History ..	2f
Coins as a source of Indian History ..	3
Material for the History of the Deccan classified under the above-mentioned four heads	4
SECTION I: Etymology and Denotation of the word Deccan	5-6
Dakkhan — Daksina: Daksināpatha: Dakhinabades: Ta-Thsin	5
The Purānas on Daksināpatha ..	5f
Varying signification of the word Deccan: The sense in which it is understood in the present work	6
SECTION II: Settlement of the Āryas in the Deccan ...	7-10
Āryāvarta according to old Sanskrit writers: Pāriyātra: Agastya	7
Vidarbha: the first Āryan settlement in the South	7
Dandakāranya = Modern Mahārāstra Pañcavati	8
The Marathi Language. Extensive corruptions of the Sanskrit sounds. Unsanskrit words	9f
The Āryas in the South below Mahārāstra	10
SECTION III: Date of the Āryan Settlement in the Deccan and Notices of Southern India in Ancient Indian Literature and Inscriptions	11-20
The notices contained in the Aitareya Brāhmana ..	11
The notices contained in Pāṇini	11f
Kātyāyana's acquaintance with the South	13f
Patañjali's acquaintance with the South	14f
Date of Pāṇini	15
The Evidence of the two Indian Epics	16f
Aśoka: Notices of Southern Countries contained in his Inscriptions: Rāstikas: Pētenikas: Aparāntas: Bhojas	17f
Direct Communication between Southern Peninsula and Northern India at about 250 B C.	18
Notices in Mahāvamso and Dipavamso and in Ancient Cave-Inscriptions..	19
Date of Kālidāsa	19f
SECTION IV: Potical History of the Deccan or Mahārāstra: Analysis of the Historical Inscriptions in the cave Temples of Western India.	21-32

Political History of the Deccan before Aśoka's time not available	21
Maurya rule over Kathiawad	21
Aśoka's Empire : Rāstikas and allied countries semi-independent in his time.	21f
Vīdarbhā also a separate kingdom	22
Paithān the capital of a kingdom in the second century B. C.	22f
Indian Kings mentioned in Nasik and Nanaghat Inscriptions	23f
Names of Foreign Kings mentioned in Nasik Inscription	"
Gotamīputra Śātakarni and Puṣumāyi mentioned in Nasik Inscriptions. Gotamīputra's conquests and Kingdoms, and his greatness	25f
Names of other Kings of the same dynasty	29
Kolhapur coins bearing the names of two of these Kings	29f
Names on other coins	30f
Other names found in other Inscriptions	31f
Chronological order of the names of all the kings found in Inscriptions and on coins	32
SECTION V : Native and Foreign Princes Mentioned in the Inscriptions: Identification of the former with the Āndhrabhṛtyas of the Purāṇas.	
Ksaharāta Nahapāna : a foreign name : Probably a Śāka or Pahlava	33-35
Gotamīputra : the re-establisher of the Śātavāhana glory	33
The Purāṇic dynasties : The Mauryas : the Śīngas :	"
The Kānvas : The Āndhrabhṛtyas	33f
The first three Kings of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty : Sisuka (Simuka) : Kṛṣṇa : Śātakarni	34
Gotamīputra's place in the Purāṇic list	"
These Purāṇic Āndhrabhṛtya Princes are those referred to in the Inscriptions	"
The Purāṇic Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty = Śātavāhana dynasty of the Inscriptions	35
SECTION VI : Chronology of the Āndhrabhṛtyas or Śātavāhanas	
Gotamīputra and Nahapāna : Their Dates	36-51
Sīro Polemios and Baleucuros mentioned by Ptolemy : The former is the Puṣumāyi of the Inscriptions and Coins	36
The Date of Puṣumāyi : The Era to which the Ksaharāta dates refer	37
Puṣumāyi's overthrow of Nahapāna	38
Tiastenes of Ozene mentioned by Ptolemy = Castana of Ujjayīni : a contemporary of Puṣumāyi : Date of Rudradāman	39
	39f

Relations between the princes above referred to: Naha- pāna : Gotamīputra : Puṣumāyi : Castana : Rudra dāman: ...	40f
Popular stories about an Ujjayini King attacking and being defeated by the Śālivāhana of Paithan ...	41f
Rudradāman defeating the Śātavāhanas: The parti- cular Śātavāhana that he conquered. ...	42
Matrimonial Alliances between Ksatrapas and Śātavāha- nas. ...	"
Way to harmonise the scraps of information derived ... from Greek Sources, Inscriptions &c., and popular legends. ...	"
Puranic Statements about the Śātavāhana Kings ...	42f
Genesis of the Purāṇa literature. ...	43
Great discrepancy between the several Purāṇas. ...	45f
Dates of the Śātavāhana Princes mentioned in the In- scriptions. ...	48
The Mahārāstra and the Tailangana branches of the Śātavāhanas. ...	48f
The period of the Āndhrabhr̥tya rule over the Deccan ..	51
SECTION VII: Political and Literay Traditions about the Śātavāhanas or Śālivāhanas: ..	52-56
The Āndhrabhr̥tya Period a Prosperous Period ...	52
Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana, a family name and not a personal name ...	"
The Śaka or Śālivāhana Era: Śakanrpa-kāla or Śaka- nrpa-rājyābhiseka-kāla : Śaka : an era generally. ...	"
Current Legend about Śālivāhana ...	52f
Vikramāditya of Ujjayini ...	53
Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhyā. Kātantra Vyākaraṇa of Śar- vavarman ...	53f
Gāthāsaptasatī of Hāla ...	55f
Growth of the Prakṛits ...	56
SECTION VIII: Religious, Social and Economic Con- dition of Mahārāstra under the Āndhrabhr̥tyas or Śātavāhanas ..	57-62
Buddhism flourishing: Buddhistic Temples and Monas- teries built: Buddhism adopted by foreign settlers in India ...	57
Brahmanism also flourishing: Notions about Brahma- nic charities disclosed in Usavadata's Inscription same as now ...	58
Trade and Commerce: Foreign Trade: Indian Sea Port Towns mentioned in the Periplus ...	58f
Wealth devoted to charitable purposes ...	61
Local Self-Government: Nigamasabhās ..	61
Rate of Interest ...	61f
Easy Communication between different provinces ...	62

SECTION IX : Probable History of the Period between the Extinction of the Āndhrabhṛtyas and the Rise of the Cālukyas	...	63-65
No precise history of the Period 200-500 A. D. Possible Ksatrapa rule over Mahārāstra	...	63
The Abhiras : Tradition about the Gauḷi rule over Nasik and Khandesh	...	63f
The Mahārathis : Rathis or Ratthās : Rāstrakūtas : held in Subjugation by the Āndhrabhṛtyas	...	64f
The Rāstrakūtas probably in power from about 200-500 A. D.	...	65
The Traikūtakas : Cedi-Haihaya-Kalacuri Dynasty	...	65
SECTION X : The Early Cālukyas	...	66-84
Different forms of the word Cālukya : Materials for the History of the Dynasty	...	69
The Legendary origin and original seat of the family	...	69f
Jayasimha : the first prince of the dynasty : Raṇarāga	...	70
Pulakeśi I : His horse-sacrifice : his Capital	...	70
Kirtivarman I : Mangalīśa	...	71
The royal power taken from Mangalīśa's hands	...	71f
Pulakeśi II. Contest between him and Harsa of Kanauj.	...	71f
Visit of Hwan Thsang to India and Deccan	...	73
Extent of Cālukya rule under Pulakeśi II; his foreign Embassies	...	73f
Different Cālukya families established	...	75f
Vikramāditya I. Establishment of the Gujarath Cālukya branch	...	78f
Vinayāditya : his defeat of the Paramount Lord of North India	...	79
Vijayāditya	...	80f
Vikramāditya II	...	81
Kirtivarman	...	81f
The Rāstrakūtas become sovereigns of Mahārāstra : Extinction of the Main Line of the Cālukyas	...	82f
Jainism in the ascendant under the Cālukyas : Buddhism in decay	...	83
Brahmanic Revival : Ritual Literature	...	84
Purānic Religion : Hindu Architecture	...	
Genealogy of the Early Cālukyas	...	
SECTION XI : The Rāstrakūtas	...	85-108
The Legendary origin of the Rāstrakūtas from the Sātyaki Branch of the Yadu race	...	85
Ratta and Rāstrakūta : The Historical Rathas of Aśoka	...	"
Times : Earlier fortunes of the family	...	"
Earlier Princes of the Dynasty : Dantivarman : Indrarāja : Govinda I : The war of Govinda with the Cālukya Pulakeśi II	...	"
Karka : The patron of Vedic Religion. Indrarāja II : His Matrimonial Alliance with Cālukyas	...	"
Dantidurga : His wars with Cālukya King and Lord of	...	"

Northern India and other kings	...	86
Kṛṣṇarāja I: His defeat of the Cālukyas : His Ellora	...	87f
Siva Temples	...	89
Govinda II : Jain Harivaṃśa	...	89f
Dhruva Nirupama : His Conquests	...	90f
Govinda III : One of the greatest princes of the	...	92
Dynasty : His wars	...	94f
Foundation of the Lāta Rāstrakūṭas	...	95f
Amoghavarṣa I. His other names. His wars with the	...	97f
Cālukyas : Foundation of the Rāstrakūṭa Capital	...	98f
Mānyakheta. Jain Uṭtrapurāṇa : Amoghavarṣa a	...	99f
Jain. Tibetan Tradition	...	101f
Kṛṣṇa II : A great Monarch : His son Jagattunga	...	103f
Indra III : Submission of Lāta Rāstrakūṭas	...	104
Amoghavarṣa II	...	104f
Govinda IV. Addicted to pleasures	...	105f
Baddiga or Amoghavarṣa III His virtues	...	106f
Kṛṣṇa III : His brother Khottika : wars of Kṛṣṇa III :	...	108
a helpmate of his father	...	
Khottika	...	
Kakkala or Karka II : Kakkala defeated by Tailapa of	...	
the Later Cālukya Dynasty	...	
State of religion under the Rāstrakūṭas and a general	...	
Survey of the period : Decline of Buddhism : Growth	...	
of Brahmanism : Digambar Jainism : Literature	...	
The Balharā of Arabic Historians identified with	...	
Vallabhas=Rāstrakūṭas	...	
Genealogy of the Rāstrakūṭa Dynasty	...	
SECTION XII : The Later Cālukyas	...	109-127
History of the Cālukya dynasty between Kirtivarman	...	
II, last of the Early Cālukya Dynasty and Tailapa I,	...	
the first prince of the Later Cālukya Dynasty	...	
No Continuity of tradition between the two lines	...	
The " Āditya of the race of Manu " mentioned in Sam-	...	
ksepaśāhira	...	
Tailapa I : War between him and Muñja	...	
Satyāśraya : Vikramāditya I	...	
Jayasimha : Jagadekamalla I: his wars with Bhoja	...	
Someśvara I : his wars with the Colas and with Bhoja	...	
Founding of Kalyāṇa	...	
His sons: Vikramāditya II: Jalasamādhi of	...	
Someśvara I	...	
Someśvara II : Fratricidal war between him and Vikra-	...	
māditya II	...	
Vikramāditya II crowns himself king	...	
His reign :	...	
War between Vikramāditya II, and his brother Jaya-	...	
simha :	...	
Confederacies against Vikramāditya II.	...	
His Rule and Character : A Patron of Learning :	...	
Vijñāneśvara : Bilhāṇa	...	

Someśvara III : His literary abilities : His work : The <i>Mānasollāsa</i> ...	123f
Jagadekamalla II ...	124f
Tailapa II : Decline of Later Cālukya power : Rise of Vijjana Kalacuri ...	125f
Flight of Tailapa II : Someśvara IV : He regains Cālukya power : Rise of the Southern and Northern Yādavas : Defeat of Someśvara IV ...	126
The Cālukyas sink to the position of petty chiefs ...	126f
Genealogy of the Cālukyas between the last of the Early Cālukyas, Kirtivarman II, and Tailapa I founder of Later Cālukyas ...	134
Genealogy of the Later Cālukyas between Tailapa I, and Someśvara IV. ...	135
 SECTION XIII : The Kalacuris ...	128-133
Original Seat of the Kalacuri or Haihaya family ...	128
Kings of the Dynasty before Vijjana ...	128
Vijjana; his usurping paramount power from the Later Cālukyas ...	128
Rise of the Lingāyata Religion ; Life of Basava ...	129
Events leading to Vijjana's assassination ...	130
Jain account of Vijjana's assassination ...	131
Soma : his accomplished queen ...	131f
His successors; Extinction of the Dynasty ...	132
Religious and Social condition under the Later Cālukyas and the Kalacuris : Last traces of Buddhism : Jainism on the decline : Rise of the Lingāyata religion : worship of Puranic gods : Codification of Hindu Law : ...	132f
 SECTION XIV : The Yādavas of Devagiri: Early History of the Family ...	136-146
The genealogy contained in the <i>Vratakhanda</i> of Hemādri: the same as contained in a copperplate grant of the Dynasty ...	136f
The legendary origin of the family ...	137
<i>Drdhaprahāra</i> : ...	"
Seunacandra I : Seunadeśa and Seunapura The former same as Khandesh ...	138
Dhādiyappa : Bhillama I and other kings upto Bhillama II ...	138f
Bhillama II. His matrimonial alliance with a princess connected with three ruling families ...	139f
Vesugi and other kings upto Bhillama IV ...	141f
Seuna (candra) II. His having saved Vikramāditya II, Later Cālukya King ...	142f
Parammadeva; Simharāja; Mallugi and other kings ...	143
Bhillama V : His superior abilities; Acquires the Cālukya Empire ...	144f

Genealogy of the Early Yādavas or the Yādavas of Seunadeśa	...	146
SECTION XV. The Yādavas of Devagiri Their Later History		
Unsettled state of the country	...	147-168
Material for Yādava History contained in the Introduction to Jahlana's Sūktimuktāvali	...	147f
Exploits of Bhillama (=Bhillama V of the preceding section): His wars	...	148f
Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi: His defeat of Rudra, king of Trikalinga	...	149
Singhana: The Yādava family rises in importance: his victories	...	150f
His Annexation of the Kolhapur Śilāhāra Dominions	...	151
Singhana's Brahman Commander: Singhana's invasion of Lavanaprasāda, the Vāghela Prince	...	151f
Account of the same as given in Somadeva's Kirtikaumudī	...	152f
Specimen of a treaty between Singhana and Lavana-prasāda contained in the Lekhapañcāsikā	...	153f
Singhana assumes full titles of a paramount Sovereign: Vastness of the Yādava Empire	...	155f
Sodhala: the Chief Secretary of Singhana. Other famous scholars under Singhana: The latter's son	...	156f
Kṛṣṇa: Prakṛit forms of the name: His power: His defeat of Visala King of Gujarath: his helpmates	...	157f
Kṛṣṇa, a great patron of Vedic religion	...	158
Prevalence of Present Mahārāṣṭra family names in Kṛṣṇa's time: Jahlana, the author of Sūktimuktāvali, the Commander of Kṛṣṇa	...	159f
Mahādeva: His greatness. The Āndhras through fear ... of Mahādeva place Rudramā on the throne and call her a "king,"	...	159f
Corroborative evidence of it from the Pratāparudriya	...	160
Mahādeva's other wars.	...	160f
Devagiri, the Capital of the Yādavas	...	161
Āmana	...	"
Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva or Rāmarāja His wars.	...	
Extent of his Empire	...	161
His Charities	...	162
Hemādri: Chief Secretary and Counsellor: his works: his life	...	162f
Bopadeva, the protégé of Hemādri: His works	...	163
The Modi writing, and the style of architecture attributed to Hemādri	...	164
Jñāneśvara: his Jñāneśvari	...	164f
The beginning of the Mahomedan Incursions into the South: Battle between All-ud-din Khilji and Rāmadeva	...	165

Negotiations concluded between them	...	165f
Renewal of the contest : Death of Rāmacandra	...	166
Śaṅkara : Malik-kafur established at Devagiri	...	166f
Harapāla : His Insurrection : taken prisoner and flayed by Mubarik : End of Hindu Sovereignty of the Deccan	...	"
Genealogy of the Later Yādavas or the Yādavas of Devagiri	...	168
SECTION XVI. The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur	...	169-175
Three different families of the Śilāhāras or Śilāras.		
Their legendary Origin from Jimūtavāhana, a Demi-god. Their title	...	169
The Existence of the three branches in the times of the Rāstrakūtas	...	169f
The three Branches : (1) North Konkan (2) South konkan and (3) Kolhapur Śilāhāras.	...	170
Sketch of the first two branches	..	170f
The Kolhapur Śilāhāras : latest of the three branches	...	171
Jatiga I, and succeeding princes upto Jatiga II	...	171
Jatiga II : the lion of the hill fortress of Panhala	...	"
Gomka and other princes upto Gandarāditya	...	171f
Gandarāditya. His territories	...	172
His Charities to Brahmins, Buddhists and Jains	...	"
Vijayārka : His relations with Vijjana Kalacuri	...	173
Bhoja II : His gifts and charities to Karhada and Chitpavan Brahmins	...	"
Attempts of Vijjana Kalacuri to curtail the independence of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras	...	173f
Their dominions finally annexed by Singhana Yādava Mahālakṣmī : The Tutelary Deity of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras : Their tolerance of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religions	...	174
The present Selara families and Selaravadi, possibly connected with Śilāhāras	...	"
Genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur	...	175

EARLY
HISTORY OF THE DECCAN
DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST.

INTRODUCTORY.

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

(I) We have a chronicle of Kashmir called the *Rājataranginī*, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories; and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered; and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jains of the *Śvetāmbara* sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujarat and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of *Rajaputana*. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given; and sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the *Purānas* contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families, which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

(II.) But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre; and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information, to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus; and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purānas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification; and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner, the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Candragupta has been determined to be about 322 B. C., and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced in China in the first century of the Christian era; and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims; and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

(III.) Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of Inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The

names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find must be regarded simply as meaningless. But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harsavardhana by Pulakes'i II of the early Cālukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical; and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwahan Thsang does that of Pulakes'i's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical; though, however, legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results.

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemorate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also. A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals; but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era. When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors.

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep; but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the "Indian Antiquary" and the institution of the Archæological Survey. These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal. Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages.

(IV.) I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates. A study of these too has led to very important results.

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself. But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned; and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province. I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Aryan settlement of the Deccan. The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are as follows:

(I.)—Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkacarita*, Introduction to the *Vratakhanda*, Introduction to Jahlapa's anthology, Puranic genealogies, and scattered notices in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; Hāl's *Saptas'atī*, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, Kavirahasya, Dīgambara Jaina works—such as the *Harivardha*, the *Uttara Purāṇa*, the *Yas'astilaka*, the *Pras'nottararatnamālikā* &c., Viṣṇves'vara's *Mitāksarā*, the *Abhilasitārthacintāmaṇi*, the *Basava Purāṇa*, the *Lekhapañcās'ikā*, the *S'abdārṇavacandrikā*, the *Jñānes'varī*, and a few others.

(II.)—Ptolemy's *Geography*, the *Periplus*, Hwān Tshang's *Itinerary*.

(III.)—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India; Rudradāman's inscription at Junagad, stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country, copperplate charters of the early Cālukyas, the Rāstrakūṭas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number.

(IV.)—Coins of the S'ātavāhanas found at Kolhapur and in the lower Godavari district.

Since the the political history of the Deccan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts.

SECTION I.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DECCAN" AND ITS DENOTATION.

THE word "Dakkhan " represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Daksina, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadā. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Daksināpatha or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the *Periplus* calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades.¹ In the vernacular or Prakrit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Daksināpatha must have become Dakkhinābadha or Dakkhināvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,² in the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Daksina.

Daksināpatha or Daksina was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadā. Among the countries enumerated in the *Mārkandeya*,³ *Vāyu*,⁴ and *Mātsya*⁵ *Purānas*, as comprised in Daksināpatha, are those of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabar. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāndu princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Daksināpatha after having

1 Indian Antiquary, VIII. 143.

2 Travels of Fah-Hian by S. Beal, 139.

3 Chap. 57, Verse 45, Bibliotheca Indica Edition. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, Pāṇḍyās' ca Keralās' caiva Colāḥ Kulyās tathaiva ca, as it is in the manuscript, I have consulted.

4 Chap. 45, Verse 124, Bibliotheca Indica Edition.

5 Chap. 112, Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition.

conquered the king of the Pāndyas.¹ This would show that the country of the Pāndyas was not included in Dakṣināpatha. Again the rivers Godāvarī and others springing from the Sahyādri, are spoken of in the Vāyu Purāṇa as rivers of Dakṣināpatha,² while the Narmadā and the Tāpī are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakṣināpatha. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadā on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛsnā to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical with the country called Mahārāstra or the region in which the Marathi language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tāpī; and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Thus the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvarī and that lying between that river and the Kṛsnā. The name Mahārāstra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purāṇs³ and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparānta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadā and the Tāpī inhabited by the Pulindas and Śābaras as well as from Vīdarbhā on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakos'a,⁴ Mahārāstra Vīdarbhā, Tāpī-tata-des'a and the Narmadā-tata-des'a (i. e., the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkana are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Deccan or Mahārāstra in this—the narrowest—sense of the word forms the subject of the present Notice

1 Sabhāparvan, Chap. 31, Verse 17, Bombay Edition.

2 Chap. 45, Verse 104, Bib. Ind. Ed

3 See the chapters of the three Purāṇas referred to in the preceding notes, on page 5.

4 Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352.

SECTION II.

SETTLEMENT OF THE ĀRYAS IN THE DECCAN.

IT is now a recognised fact that the Āryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjab. Thence they emigrated to the east, and for a time, the easternmost province occupied by them was Brahmāvarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatī, the modern Sarasutī, and Drsadvatī,¹ a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For, the name Āryāvarta or the region occupied by the Āryas, as explained by Manu² and even by Patañjali,³ the author of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pāriyātra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range, from which the rivers Chambal and Betwa take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yātrā or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an As'rama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Aryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas or the Berars. For in the Rāmāyana when Sugrīva, the monkey-king, sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Rāma's wife Sitā and Rāvana, her ravisher, directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Rōikas, and

1 Manu, II. 17.

2 Manu, II. 23.

3 Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.

Mahisakas, and also to Dandakāranya (the forest of Dandakā) and the river Godāvarī.¹ This shows that while the country about the Godāvarī, that is, the Deccan or Mahārāstra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahābhārata also, Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman, demanded her of the king in marriage.² In the Rāmāyana, Rāma is represented to have lived for a long time in Dandakāranya, at a place called Pañcavati situated on the banks of the Godāvarī about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.³ That this Dandakāranya was the modern Mahārāstra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godāvarī, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brahmans in Mahārāstra do not utter the name Mahārāstra but Dandakāranya with the word *deśa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhanda, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakāranya. Nasik claims to be the Pañcavati where Rāma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nasik. The river Godāvarī must, from the description occurring in the Rāmāyana as well as in Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāmacarita, have been wide at Rāma's Pañcavati. It could hardly have been so at Nasik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyādrī through which flowed the river Godāvarī and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purānas represented as "the most charming on earth; and there, to please Rāma, the sage Bhāradvāja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and

1 Rāmāyaṇa, IV. Chap. 41, Bombay Edition.

2 Mahābhārata, Bombay Edition, III. Chap. 96, and 97.

3 Rāmāyaṇa, III. 13, 13, Bom. Ed.

thus a lovely garden came into existence."¹ In the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Govardhana* is spoken of as a town; but the *Vāyu* and the *Mātsya* seem to mean it to be a mountain. This *Govardhana* must from the given position, be the same as the village of the name near *Nasik*; and thus the three *Purāṇas* must be understood as supporting the identification of *Pañcavati* with *Nasik*.

But though *Mahārāstra* was the last country occupied by the Indian Āryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern countries. Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, and incorporated the rest into their own society. The present *Marathi* language is as much an offshoot of the *Sanskrit* as the other languages of Northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the *Mahārāstrī*, the *Sauraseni*, and the *Māgadhī*, as well as an earlier form of speech, the *Pāli*—show extensive corruptions of *Sanskrit* sounds, reducible however to a few general laws. These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those *Prakrit* dialects, as they are called. This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such, however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the *Sanskrit*. The extensive corruptions of *Sanskrit* sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the *Sanskrit* words used by the conquering Āryas; and thus the *Prakrit* forms of *Sanskrit* words represent their pronunciation of them. A few sounds unknown to *Sanskrit* as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the *Prakrits*, and these point to the

1 *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Chap. 57, Verses 34-35, *Vāyu*, Chap. 45, Verses 112-114; and *Mātsya*, Chap. 112, Verses 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three *Purāṇas* evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted. The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the *Vāyu*.

2 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works Vol. III.]

same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Āryas in their progress through the country, came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities.¹ This was the state of things in the North down to the Maratha country. But farther South and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races, inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their civilization. On the contrary, the Āryas had to learn the languages peculiar of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization. Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India, are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that Southern Art is so different from the Northern. The reason why the result of the Āryan irruption, was so different in Southern India from what it was in the North, appears to be that when the Āryas penetrated to the South, there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms. In the passage in the Rāmāyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Āndhras (Telugu people), the Pāndyas, the Colas, and the Keralas, in the South; and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pāndyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter. In the North, however, at the time of the Āryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandakāranya, which is represented in the Rāmāyana as a forest infested by Rākshasas or wild tribes, who disturbed the religious rites of the Brahman sages. And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Āryas were gradually progressing from the Panjab, the wild tribes they met with, are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rākshasas, and others.

1 These points I have developed in my *Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages* . pp. 46 f (Edition of 1914).

SECTION III.

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT IN THE DECCAN AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Dandakāranya, and trace the relations between the civilized Āryan community of the North and the Southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well-known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called Classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Viśvāmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his souls to "live on the borders" of the Āryan settlements, and these, it is said "were the Āndhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, and the descendants of Viśvāmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus.¹" Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the South, the Pundras in the Rāmāyana, and the other three in the Purāṇas.² From the later literature, the Pulindas and S'abaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya.³ Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadā. The Āndhras, who in these days are identified with Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godāvarī or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Indian Āryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

Pāṇini in his Sūtras or grammatical rules, shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India. Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjab and Afghānistān; but the names of countries situated in the eastern

1 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śākhāyana Sūtra.

2 See the Purāṇic passages above referred to.

3 In his Kādambārī, Bāṇa places the S'abaras in the forest on the Vindhya range.

portion of Northern India also occur in the Sūtras. The countries farthest to the South mentioned by him are Kaccha (IV. 2. 133), Avanti (IV. 1. 176), Kosala (IV. 1. 171), Karūṣa (IV. 1. 178)¹ and Kalinga (IV. 1. 178).² The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avanti is the district about Ujjayini, and Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars. Kosala, Karūṣa, and Avanti are mentioned in the Purāṇas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya.³ In the Ratnāvalī, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range. Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther South in Pāṇini's work, is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the North that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Āryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya but did proceed

1 This name does not occur in the Sūtra, but is the second in the list or Gaṇa beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Gaṇas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gaṇa to Pāṇini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times) still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pāṇini refers to these Gaṇas in his Sūtras by using the first word in the list with ādi, equivalent to " and others " added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression Bhargādi forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

2 In the so-called Pāṇiniya Śikṣa, the expression Saurāṣṭrikā nārī or " a woman of Surāstra " occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pāṇini was acquainted with Surāstra. The Pāṇiniya Śikṣā cannot be the work of Pāṇini, for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain Śikṣā according to the views of Pāṇini, and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian. Besides, the author notices the Prakrit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Pāṇini's great work, and writes in verse. Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sūtras. The Pāṇiniya Śikṣā therefore must have been composed long after Pāṇini.

3 See the Purāṇic passages cited above.

or communicate with the northern-most portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course.

Kātyāyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vārtikas is to explain and supplement Pāṇini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Pāṇini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country." Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pañcālas, or the king of the country Pañcālas, is to be called Pañcāla; a descendant of a Sālva, or the king of the country of the Sālvas, is to be called Sālveya, &c. Kātyāyana notices here an omission; the name Pāṇḍya is not explained by Pāṇini. Kātyāyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of Pāṇḍus or the king of their country, should be called a Pāṇḍya." Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that in either of these senses, no termination should be appended to the word Kambojas, which was the name of a non-Aryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed; but that the word Kamboja itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas."¹ Kātyāyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word Kambojas; for the rule applies also to the names "Colas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Cola and other tribes, and the kings of the Cola and other countries should be called by the names "Cola and others." Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudras or water-lilies, Nadas or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively.² Kātyāyana adds, "Mahismat is so called because it contains Mahisas or buffaloes."³

Now Mahismat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purāṇas is associated with Mahārāstra and is called Mahisakas. Mahismati on the banks of the Narmadā was probably

1 Paṇḍor dyaṇ, which is a Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 168.

2 Pāṇini, IV. 1. 175.

3 Pāṇini, IV. 2. 87.

its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstücker has done in many similar cases, that had Pāṇini known the Pāndyas, Colas, and Mahismat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above, that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sūtras. Thus then, the Āryas of the North were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pāṇini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,¹ which is very likely the same as our modern Nasik.

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the South. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the South, and tells us that in Dakṣiṇāpatha the word 'sarasī' is used to denote large lakes.² He mentions Māhismatī,³ Vaidarbha,⁴ Kāñcīpura⁵ the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala⁶ or Malabar. Patañjali's date, B. C 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's Vārtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājīyas, Saunāgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vārtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *pathanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ. In this manner the interval between Kātyāyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now Professor Goldstücker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini's time. I have followed up the argument

1 In a Vārtika on Pāṇini VI. I. 63.

2 Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, I. 1. 19.

3 Under Pāṇini, III. 1. 26.

4 IV. 1. Fourth Āhnika.

5 IV 2. Second Āhnika.

6 IV 1. Fourth Āhnika.

in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages,"¹ and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Pāṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible; wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Pāṇini as found in the Bhāṣā or current language, not the Chāṇḍasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.² Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pāṇini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pāṇini's time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pāṇini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pāṇini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still; and against this conclusion, I believe no argument has been or can be brought, except a vague prejudice.—And now to our point—The Indian Āryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ; they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther; and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berar, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but in the course of some time more, they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Dandakāranya along the banks of the Godāvarī, that is, in

1 Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit &c pp. 28 f.

2 Ibid, pp. 21 ff.

Mahārāstra or the Deccan Before B. C. 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura.

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahābhārata existed before Pānini and Āśvalāyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the Rāmāyana also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali recension of the poem like the Bengali recensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the South is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference. But the date of the Rāmāyana is uncertain; the present Hindu belief based on the Purāṇas is that Rāma's incarnation is older than Kṛṣṇa's, and consequently the Rāmāyana older than the Mahābhārata; but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhisthira in Pānini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahābhārata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amarasimha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛṣṇa incarnation; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Deccan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāndyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas, and Āndhras¹ and also to have visited Kiskindhā which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampā lake or river, where Rāma met Sugrīva the monkey chief, though the country

¹ Sabhāparvan, Chap. 31 (Bombay Edition).

Kiskindhā is placed by the Purāṇas among those near the Vindhya. He went also to Śūrparākā, the modern Supara near Bassein, to Dandakā, the same as Dandakāranya but not mentioned as a forest, to Karahātaka, the modern Karhad on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Koinā, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Rāmāyana, alluded to above, as lying to the South are Utkalā, (probably the modern Ganjam), Kālinga, Daśārṇa, Avanti Vidarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsā must have been called Daśārṇa in ancient times; for its capital was Vidiśā, which was situated, as stated by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta, on the Vetravati or Betva, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsa. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya, or nearly in the same line with it farther east. But between these and the southernmost countries of the Colas, Pāṇdyas, and Keralas, the Rāmāyana mentions no other place or country but Dandakāranya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Āryan settlements in the Deccan, while that represented by the Mahābhārata in the place indicated, seems subsequent; and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Rāmāyana is the older of the two epics. The name Mahārāstra does not occur in either of them.

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty, reigning at Pātaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnar in Kathiavad on the west, at Dhauri in Katak, and Jaugad in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himālaya, at Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and at Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion to the Rāstikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparāntas.¹ The

1 ये बाण्यन्ते अपरान्ता is the Sanskrit of the original Prakrit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparāntas," i. e. also that other country called Aparānta. If we take it in this way, Aparānta is clearly Northern Konkaṇa; for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pali Literature from the remotest times. In the Mahāvastu and Dipavaṃśa quoted below, Mahārāṣṭra is associated with Aparāntaka. It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does. But the word "other" certainly refers to Rāṣṭika-Petenikanam and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it, so as to make these last also western countries. (Inscriptions of Aśoka, Vol. II., p. 84),

last which we know best is Northern Konkana, the capital of which was Sūrparaka. Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Paithanakas, *i. e.*, the people or country about Paithana on the Godāvari. The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratisthāna, was in those days, as it now is, Pethana or Paithana, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paithana or Baithana. The Rāstikas, or, according to the Mansehra version, Ratrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāstrikas, were very likely the people of Mahārāstra, for a tribe of the name of Rattas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name of Rāstrakūtas and governed the country before the Cālukyas acquired power. It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Cālukyas again after some time. In later times, chieftains of the name of Rattas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum district. In the thirteenth Edict, in which the countries where Aśoka's moral Edicts were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Rāstikas. Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar¹ and also in other parts of the Deccan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuda,² the name " Mahābhōja " or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedsa. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhōjas, the Rāstrikas, Rattis, Ratthhis, or Ratthas called themselves Mahāratthis or Mahāratthas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived, came to be called Mahārattha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahārāstra. In the second and the thirteenth Edicts, the countries of the Colas, Pāndyas, Ketalaputras (Cera or Kerala), and the Āndhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patañjali, the whole of the Southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the North, and the Deccan or Mahārāstra had regular kingdoms governed by Rattas and Bhojas.

1 In the Daśakumāracarita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

2 Kuda inscriptions, Nos. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Bedsa No. 2; Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 10.

In the Mahāvamsa, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dipavamsa, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation, said to have been held in the time of Aśoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahārattha, Aparāntaka, and Vanavāsī.¹ Whether the name Mahārattha or Mahārāstra had come into use in the time of Aśoka, does not appear clear from this; but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era, admits of little doubt. In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhaja, Bedsa, and Karli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Mahārathi and the female Mahārathini, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahābhoja and Mahābhojī, and signify the great Rathi (man and woman).² Similarly, in the large cave at Nanaghat a Mahārathi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prakrits the principal one was called Mahārāstri, because we are told it was the language of Mahārāstra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled Setubandha attributed to Kālidāsa and mentioned by Dandin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śālivāhana. It is the language of Prakrit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuci's Prākṛta-Prakāśa; but the date of this author is uncertain, though there is reason to believe that he was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya and was thus a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa. Though the date of Kālidāsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined,

1 Mahāvamsa, Turnour's Ed., pp. 71 and 72, and Dipavamsa, Oldenberg's Ed., p. 54. The latter, however, omits Vanavāsī.

2 Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 10; Bhaja, No. 2, Bedsa No. 2, Karli Nos. 2 and 14. Pandit Bhagvanlal appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahārathi to be equal to the Sk. Mahārathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Bedsa No. 2, a woman is called Mahārathini where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question. Mahārathi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Marāṭhā. It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahābhojas and the Mahārathis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahābhoja, and a Mahārathini or the wife of a Mahārathi.

still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bāna in his *Harsacarita*, in the North,¹ and in an inscription at Aihole² dated 556 Śaka, in the South. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country; perhaps it is too short. Kālidāsa may, therefore, be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr. Kern in the first half of the sixth century.³ The Mahārāstri dialect, therefore, in which Kālidāsa wrote the *Setu-bandha* and the Prakrit verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier, and also called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varāhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahārāstra as a Southern country; and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above, Mahārāstra is mentioned as comprising three countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Cālukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahārāstra. The occurrence of the name of Mahārāstra in the *Purānas* has already been noticed.⁴

1 Dr. Hall's *Vāsava dattā*, Preface, p. 14

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII., p. 243.

3 Edition of Varāhamihira, Preface, p. 20.

4 *Ante*, page 6.

SECTION IV.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN OR MAHĀRĀṢṬRA ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA.

No clue to the political history of Mahārāṣṭra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purāṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but clear traces of their occupation of the South have not yet been found Candragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B. C 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kathiavad, and his grandson Aśoka, who reigned from B. C. 263 to B. C 229, retained possession of the province¹ The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kathiavad in the west But stray Edicts have been discovered farther south; a fragment of the eighth being found at Supara and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysore. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries", and mentions Cola, Pāndya, Ketalaputta, and Satiyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces These, therefore, did not own his sway But in the fifth Edict he mentions the Rāstikas, Petenikas and Aparāntas and a few more provinces as those, for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named Again, he includes most of these in the thirteenth Edict, among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Cola, Pāndya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes. It would thus appear that though the countries of the Rāstikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparāntas were not outlying provinces like

¹ See the Inscription of Rudradāman, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 260, line 8.

those of the Colas, the Pāndyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence, and only owed allegiance to him as suzerain. The appearance of fragments of his Inscriptions at Supara and on the confines of Mysore is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supara on the Western coast, and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysore, leaving the western countries of the Rāstikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast, in a state of semi-independence. And there is some positive evidence to that effect. Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the political events narrated in which, may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra—the son of Pusyamitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, who reigned in the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidiśā, which I have before identified with Bhilsā, probably as his father's viceroy. He had made proposals of marriage with Mālavikā to her brother Mādhavasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha. Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne. When Mādhavasena was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, the general of Yajñasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him. His counsellor, Sumati, and Mālavikā escaped, but Mādhavasena was kept in custody. Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajñasena the surrender of Mādhavasena. Yajñasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra, or his father Pusyamitra, should be released. This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and vanquished him. Mādhavasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varadā.

Paithan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the Inscriptions in the caves at Pitalkhora near Chalisgaon, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved, must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratisthāna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his

son and daughter.¹ The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratisthāna or Paithan. No more particular information is available. On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the Inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of Sahyādri throw a good deal of light. I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the Inscriptions in the chronological order, clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

An Inscription² in a small cave at Nasik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nasik of king Kṛṣṇa of the Śātavāhana race. In a cave at Nanaghat there is another, which is much mutilated, and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear. In that same cave, figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them : 1, Rāyā Simuka Śātavāhana, *i. e.*, King Simuka Śātavāhana; 2, Devī Nāyanikāyā rañño ca Sīri Śātakanino, *i. e.*, of Queen Nāyanikā and King Śrī Śātakarni ; 3, Kumāro Bhāyā, *i. e.*, Prince Bhāyā; 4, Mahārathiganakayiro, *i. e.*, the heroic Marāthā leader or the hero of the Marāthā tribe; 5, Kumāro Haku Sīri, *i. e.*, Prince Haku Śrī; 6, Kumāro Śātavāhana, *i. e.*, Prince Śātavāhana. Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen, must have been the reigning prince ; the first was an earlier king of the same dynasty, the fourth was a local Maratha warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

In another Nasik cave there are four Inscriptions. In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Triraśmi in Govardhana or the Nasik District by the benevolent Usavadāta, the son-in-law of king Kṣaharāta Nahapāna and son of Dinika. Usavadāta gave away three hundred thousand cows; constructed flights of steps on the river Bārnāsāyā; assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmanas; fed a hundred thousand Brāhmanas every year; got eight Brāhmanas at Prabhāsa or Somanath-Pattana married at his own expense; constructed quadrangles, houses and halting places at Bharukaccha or Bharoch, Daśapura in Malva, Govardhana, and Śorpārāga, the modern Supara near Bassein;

1 Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. Inscriptions, pp. 39, 41.

2 JBBRAS., Vol. VII, No. 6, Nasik Inscriptions ; and Transactions, Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 338.

made gardens and sank wells and tanks ; placed ferry-boats over the Ibā, Pārādā, Damanā, Tāpī, Karabenā and Dāhanukā, which were rivers along the coast between Thana and Surat ; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers ; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nānamgola, for the Caranas and Parisads (Vedic schools of Brāhmanas) in Pinditakāvada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Śorpāraga, and Rāmatīrtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Ksatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mālayas. At the sound of his martial music, the Mālayas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poskarāni and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village¹

In the second Inscription, Usavadāta is spoken of as having in the year 42 dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kārsāpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kārsāpanas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kārsāpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kārsāpanas. Out of this, other things (Kusāna) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery. In the years 41 and 40, he gave away a large sum of money² for gods and Brāhmanas. The third Inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Usavadāta's wife, Dakhamitrā³. The fourth is greatly mutilated, but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Usavadāta's⁴. In the cave-temple of Karli there is an Inscription

1 JBBRAS., Vol. VII, Nasik Inscriptions, No. 17 ; and Transactions, Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 326.

2 JBBRAS., Nos. 18 and 16, which together form one inscription.

3 *Ibid.* First part of No. 16.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 14.

in which Usavadāta is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valūraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time.¹ There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nasik Inscriptions. In an Inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapāna, the great Ksatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed.² The minister appears to have been a Brāhmaṇa, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Next in order come the Inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamīputra Śātakarni and Puṣumāyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four, occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nasik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puṣumāyi, the son of Vāsisthi, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyaniya sect by Gotamī, the mother of king Śātakarni Gotamīputra. She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grand-mother of the great king" Gotamīputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Aśika, Aśmaka, Mūlaka,³ Surāstra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Akarāvanti.⁴ He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyaśvat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreṣṭhagiri, and Cakora. His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them. His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own. He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, viz., duty, worldly prosperity,

1 Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 10, No. 13, Karli Inscriptions.

2 Ibid., No. 25, Junnar Inscriptions.

3 Aśmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purāṇas.

4 Surāstra is Southern Kathiavad, Kukura, a portion of Rajputana, and Aparānta, Northern Konkan. Anūpa is mentioned in the Purāṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhya. It was the country on the upper Narmadā with Māhishmatī for its capital, according to the Raghuvamśa. Akarāvanti must be the eastern portion of Malva.

and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each. He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brāhmanas. He conferred upon Brāhmanas the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Keṣava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhāga, Nahusa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarisa. He was descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Ksatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagārāta, and re-established the glory of the Sātavāhana family. In the last line of the Inscription, mention is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.¹

In a latter Inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vāsishīputra Śrī Puṣumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to Sarvāksadalana, his lieutenant in Govardhana. He calls his attention to the fact that the village, granted by the "lord of Dhanakata"² (Gotamīputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrāyanīyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter.

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another Inscription. It purports to be an order or notice issued from the

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, Inscription No. 26, and Trans. Or. Congr. 1874, p. 307.

2 Paṇḍit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nasik Inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression, thus understood by me, as धनकटसामनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्थमणे. But what the Śramaṇas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakaṣṭha, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Kr̥ṣṇa, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nasik to the Bhadrāyanīya mendicants of the place, it is impossible to conceive. The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्थामिनि. or धनकटसामिनेहि, corresponding to महासामिनेहि in the first part of No. 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्थामिके. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अत्तनेहि for आत्मनि: and राजनिहि for राजनि.

camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamiputra Śātakarni, lord of Dhanakataka, to Visnupālita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was upto that time in the possession of one Usabhadāta, for the benefit of recluses. The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that, in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated. Below this, is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamiputra Śātakarni, who is also called the royal mother. She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter, out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony. It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only; hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field. The date of this grant is 24, i e., it was made six years after the first.¹

Besides these, there are two Inscriptions at Nasik² recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Siri (Śri) Puṣumāyi, and two in the cave at Karli³ dated in the seventh and twenty-four years of his reign.

Since Gotami is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grand-mother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamiputra Śātakarni is represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śātakarni, mentioned in these inscriptions, is Puṣumāyi, it appears that this last was the grand-son and the son respectively, of these two ladies. He was therefore the son of, and his mother Vāsisthī the wife of, Gotamiputra Śātakarni. Śātakarni issued the charter contained in the second Inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year

¹ Ibid., No. 25.

² Ibid., Nos. 3 and 27.

³ Arch. Surv. West, Ind., No. 10; Nos. 14 and 20.

of Puṣumāyī's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nasik and Karli, and not to that of Gotamīputra. Even the date of the large Inscription noticed above, in which Gotamīputra's great deeds are recorded, is referred to Puṣumāyī's reign. And the grant of the village, alluded to in that Inscription and the one below, appears to have been made by Gotamīputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakataka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear, has been cut away. Gotamī is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country, since the Inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakataka, which has been identified with Dharanikot in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamī's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time¹. Since the charter

1 Dr. Bühler (Arch. Surv. of west. Ind., Vol. IV, P. 110) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake. But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotamī's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grand-mother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point, by saying she was the mother of that son, that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a *living* great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamīputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated, and Puṣumāyī alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the Inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puṣumāyī became king only after Gotamīputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect, that a king who had been dead for nineteen years, should be highly extolled in the Inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vāsisthi, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamiputra had died in the interval, and Vāsisthi reigned as regent at the capital, while Puṣumāyi continued to govern the Deccan or Mahārāstra. The years given in the charter must be those of Puṣumāyi, since even the large Inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Śātavāhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other Inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kanheri near Thana, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Madhariputra Śakasena.¹ In two other Inscriptions at the same place, the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamiputa Śiri Yañña Śātakarni (Gotamiputra Śri Yajña Śātakarni).² In one of these, the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteen of his reign. There is one Inscription at Nasik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.³ Pandit Bhagvanlal has brought to light the name of another prince. There is, according to him, an Inscription on the Nana-Ghat in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsisthi-puta Catarapana Śātakani.

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist Stūpa at Kolhapur. Another hoard had been found some

1 JBRAS., Vol. VI, No. 19, and Vol. XII, p. 409. In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasana, but in the second, which is Pandit Bhagvanlal's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants. The Pandit, therefore, reads the name as Sirisenasa for Śrisenasya, but the *k* is distinct even in his copy. *Śik* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr. Bhau Daji also read the name as Sakasenasana. But the copy of the Inscription given in Plate LI, Vol. V of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and marked No. 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point. The name there is distinctly Sakasenasana. Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is, therefore, clearly a mistake to call the king Sirisena.

2 JBRAS., Vol. VI, Nos. 4 and 44.

3 JBRAS., Vol. VII, No. 4, and Trans. Or. Congr., 1874, p. 339.

time previous, in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the Cave Inscriptions above noticed. They are as follows

Raño Vasithiputasa Vilivāyakurasa

Raño Gotamiputasa Vilivāyakurasa

Raño Madhariputasa Sevalakurasa

Here we have the same names as before ; but the words Vilivāyakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhapur². For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikot in the Gantur District about the site of Dhanakataka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhapur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter, that the Vāsithiputa of these coins, who had Vilivāyakura for his viceroy, can be no other than Vāsisthiputra Pulumāyi. The Gotamiputa must be Gotamiputra Yajña Śātakarni of the Inscriptions ; for the father of Pulumāyi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the Inscriptions are dated in his reign, though his exploits are described in the Nasik Caves. Madhariputa must have come after Goatmiputa and not after Vāsithiputa, as is maintained by some scholars ; for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the Stūpa dug out at

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 305, and Vol. XIV, pp. 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhapur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 154.

Supara, Pandit Bhagvanlal found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend: Rañña Gotamiputasa Siri Yañña Sātakanisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarni". This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse, which, though some of the letters are not distinct, appears to be: Gotamiputa-Kumāru-Yañña-Sātakani-Caturapanasa, the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Caturapana Yañña Sātakani, prince of Gotamiputa."¹ The coin was thus, like the Kolhapur coins, issued in the names of two persons; of whom Yajña Śrī Śātakarni was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Caturapana, who was his son, represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which, from the shape and get-up of the coin, appears to have been once ruled over by the Ksatrapas of Ujjayini or Kathiavad.

There is an Inscription at Kanheri, which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr. West's eye-copy and an impression given in one of Dr. Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr Buhler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Sateiaka, who was the confidential councillor of the Queen or Vāsisthiputra Śātakarni, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas, and was the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa, whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is

1 The nether portions of the letters 'Caturapanasa' only, are impressed on the coin, so that the reading is somewhat doubtful; but panasa is distinct enough. Pandit Bhagvanlal puts Caturapanasa at the beginning of the legend, and reads Caturapanasa Gotamiputa Kumāru Yañña Sātakani, which he translates "Yajña Śātakarni, son of Gotamiputra, and prince of Caturapana"; and states his belief that Caturapana was the name of Yajña Śrī's father. But to connect Kumāru, which forms a part of a compound, with the genitive 'Caturapanasa', is grammatically not allowable; while the genitive, which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence Caturapanasa is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumāru is probably a mistake for Kumāra and Yañña Sātakani is the father's name placed before Caturapanasa to show that he was his son (JBBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 305-6)

the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy, which look like Sakarāja, one might think the son meant was Śakasena ; still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous.¹ The name of this Vāsisthi-putra is Śātakarni, wherefore he was not Puḷumāyi, but very likely Catusparna (Catarapana) Śātakarni.

Thus then, from these Inscriptions and coins, we arrive at the names of the following kings, arranged in the chronological order, indicated by the forms of the characters used, and by other circumstances :

Krsnarāja.

Śātakarni.

Ksaharāta Nahapāna, and his son-in-law, Usavadāta.

Gotami-putra Śātakarni.

Vāsisthi-putra Puḷumāyi.

Gotami-putra Śrī Yajña Śātakarni.

Vāsisthi-putra Catusparna (Caturapana or Catarapana).

Madhari-putra Śakasena.

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Śātavāhana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place.

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VI, and Archæol. S. of W. I., Vol. V, Inscription No. 11 ; also p. 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍhari, point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Kṣatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this Inscription.

SECTION V.

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER WITH THE ĀNDHRABHRTYAS OF THE PURĀNAS.

The first thing that will strike one, on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Ksaharāta Nahapāna is not Indian but foreign. The title Ksatrapa or Mahāksatrapa also, used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian Satrap. From the statement in the Inscription of Gotamīputra, that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Ksaharāta Nahapāna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamīputra left no remnant of the race of Khaṣārāta or Khakhārāta, which name seems to be the same as Ksaharāta or Khaharata, as it is spelt in the Karli and Junnar Inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Sakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country, some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamīputra Sātakarni, and that they were driven out by Gotamīputra who, by thus recovering the provinces, lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the Inscription, the glory of the Śātavāhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

Now, in the Purānas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya, founded by Candragupta in B.C. 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purānas, and the last king Brhadratha was murdered by his general Pusyamitra or Puspamitra, who founded the Śunga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years, and was succeeded by the Kānva family, which ruled for

forty-five years. The Kānvas were overthrown by Sīpraka, Sindhuka, or Śisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purāṇas call the dynasty of the Āndhrabhr̥tyas, that is, Āndhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Kṛṣṇa according to all, the third was Śātakarni or Śrī-Śātakarni according to the Vāyu or Visṇu, while the Bhāgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śāntakarna. The Mātsya interposes three more kings between Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarni, while the Visṇu has another Śātakarni to correspond with that of the Mātsya. Gotamīputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vāyu, fifteenth according to the Bhāgavata, seventeenth according to the Visṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mātsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Puromat, was his successor according to the Visṇu, the Bhāgavata, or the Mātsya. These are so many mislections for the Puḷumāyi of our Inscriptions and coins. The Vāyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Śiva-Śrī, according to the Visṇu and the Mātsya, while the Bhāgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vāyu does not notice him. Yajña-Śrī occurs in all, being placed after Śivaskandha, the successor of Śiva-Śrī, by all except the Vāyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamīputra.

Thus then, the names occurring in the Inscriptions and on the coins, as well as the order, sufficiently agree with those given in the Purāṇas under the Āndrabhr̥tya dynasty, to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Catusparṇa Śātakarni unless we are to identify him with Candā-Śrī Śātakarni. The name Madharīputra Śakasaena also does not occur in the Purāṇas; and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nanaghat Inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śātakarni, the third in the Purāṇic list, must be the same as Śisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanāgarī *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Śisuka, Śisuka in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vāyu and the Sīpraka of the Visṇu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the con-

sideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty of the Purāṇas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the Inscriptions.

SECTION VI.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ĀNDRABHṚTYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

The next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nasik cave Inscriptions¹, I have accepted A. D. 319 as the date of Gotamīputra's accession, arrived at by taking B. C. 315 as the year in which Candraguṭta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pāṭaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamīputra, since the periods, assigned in the Purāṇas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Āndrabhṛtya princes, who preceded Gotamīputra, when added, give according to the Mātsya 664. The "race of Khagārāta," which Gotamīputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nasik Inscriptions to have exterminated, I there identified with the dynasty of the Ksatrapas, whose coins, as well as a few inscriptions, are found in Kathiavad, since Ksaharāta or Khagārāta was also a Ksatrapa, and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to Saka era, is A. D. 328. This comes so close to Gotamīputra's A. D. 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then. (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Ksatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Castana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapāna. (2)—If the Ksatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahārāstra for about three hundred years, as it did over Kathiavad, we might reasonably expect to find in that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes; but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karad,² and no inscription whatever. (3)—Rudradāman in his Junagad Inscription calls Śātakarni 'lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha', which he would not have done, if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Deccan. (4)—And the dates occurring on

¹ Trans. Or. Congr., 1874.

² JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 16.

some Satrap coins recently discovered, are said¹ to be 300 and 304, which referred to the Śaka, are A. D 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A. D 340, which is the date of Gotamiputra's death according to the Purānic accounts. For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagārāta or Nahapāna, which Gotamiputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satrapas (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapāna and Gotamiputra is about 200 years; but the difference in form between the characters in Usavadāta's and Gotamiputra's Inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy, we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions, of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paithan, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Pulumāvi or Pulumāyi of the Inscriptions, corresponding to the Pulomat, or Pulimat of the Purānas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamiputra, mentioned in the Inscriptions, and another, an earlier prince of the Āndrabhrtiya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note; wherefore, very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the governor of the Southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhapur coins, the name Viḷivāyakura is associated with that of Pulumāyi and of Gotamiputra. Viḷivāyakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated, that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty, and on Kolhapur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godāvari districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhapur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Pulumāyi of the Inscriptions and coins.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 57, Note, and General. Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XI., p. 127.

Ptolemy died in A. D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A. D. 151. Puṣumāyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the Inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Puṣumāyi's accession. Some of Uṣavadāta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapāna is that in the Inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz., 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka era. For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamīputra, the country was subject to the inroads of Sakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Śakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Rajputana. The era known by the name of Śaka, and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Śaka king or kings, must have been established by the most powerful of the Śaka invaders,¹ who for the first time obtained a permanent footing in

1 Prof. Oldenberg thinks Kaniska to be the founder of the era, but this view is, I think, untenable. (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dynasty of the Guptas, composed of seven kings, was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries. (2)—The characters in Kaniska's Inscriptions, especially the *ya* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No. 1 in Plate XIII of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch. Reports with No. 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Ksatrapas and of Kaniska. The former belongs to the time of the Ksatrapa Śodāsa and the letters are almost like those we find in Uṣavadāta's Inscriptions at Nasik, while those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth year of Kaniska, are considerably later, and both the Inscriptions exist in Mathurā. (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kaniska reigned over Gujrat and Mahārāstra, but the Śaka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country. (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A. D. 319; while the last of the three kings Kaniska, Huṣka, and Vāsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A. D. 78, have ceased to reign about A. D. 178, i. e., about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty. And the latest date of Vāsudeva is 89. If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta; but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition that it was much

the country; and Nahapāna, and Castana¹ or his father, must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Malva. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapāna must correspond to A. D. 124. Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Puṣumāyi occurring in the Inscriptions is the second year of his reign; and since the inscription could not have borne that date, if Nahapāna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Puṣumāyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiasenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Puṣumāyi. Tiasenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Castana. But according to the Junagad Inscription, noticed above, Castana's grandson Rudradāman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Śaka, is 150 A. D. Castana and Puṣumāyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A. D. Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i. e.* to about the year 132 A. D., since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Castana was on the throne and the year 150 A. D. when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadāman having occupied it for some time in the interval. Again, in the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi, Gotamīputra was in possession, according to the large Inscription at

shorter. Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, *i. e.*, 319 A. D., has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

- 1 Professor Oldenberg considers Castana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamīputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamīputra, whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners, cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Castana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title, and we have seen that Baleucuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son does not use that title. Rudradāman, the grandson of Castana, appointed, as we see from his Junagad Inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Suvisākha, who was the son of Kulapa, to govern Surāṣṭra and Ānarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

Nasik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junagad Inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradāman. The date 72 in the Inscription seems to refer to the being swept away, by a storm and excessive rain, of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned, and not to the cutting of the Inscription on the rock. So that it is doubtful whether Rudradāman had conquered those provinces before 72, or did so after 72, and before the incision of the Inscription. Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A. D. 150, that is Puṣumāyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A. D. 130. And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puṣumāyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Castana, who was Puṣumāyi's contemporary, and his grandson Rudradāman, who was reigning in 150 A. D., will be considerably shortened. Nahapāna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz. A. D. 124.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapāna was a Satrap ruling over Mahārāstra. His capital was probably Junnar, since the Inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 42 Śaka or A. D. 124. Gotamīputra and Puṣumāyi came from the south-east, to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country. This appears to be what is meant by Gotamīputra's having been represented in the Nasik Inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Castana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinī. In the Junagad Inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman and chosen him their lord for their protection ;¹ and he is spoken of as

¹ The expression is सर्ववर्णैर्गमिगम्य (क्षणार्थं पतितं बुद्धेन, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 260, l. 9.

having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,¹ as having assumed the title of the Great Ksatrapa, and conquered Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Surāstra, Aparānta and other provinces, which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamīputra and some more ; and as having twice subdued Śātakarni, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but still not destroyed him, in consequence of his connection² with him not being remote, and acquired a good name on that account.

The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamīputra Śātakarni, after having destroyed Nahapāna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinī. Or, the Ksatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinī, Castana, or very probably his son Jayadāman, having observed the growing power of Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi, who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinī having attacked Śālivāhana at Paithan and been defeated by him. Śālivāhana is but another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana ;³ and Puṣumāyi or Gotamīputra was a Śātavāhana. The ruler of Ujjayinī was

1 In Pandit Bhagvanlal's transcript in Vol. VII, Ind. Ant., the reading is ब्रह्मराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन. But in a foot-note Dr. Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज. In Dr. Bhau Daji's copy of the Inscription, the ज्य is distinct, JBBRAS, Vol. VII p 118, Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (JBBRAS. Vol. VII, p. 30,), and "he who has restored to their thrones *deposed kings*," (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 263 a.). If राज were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost rājya or kingdom, re-established by Rudradāman, was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

2 The reading is संवन्धावदूरतया. It is allowable to insert न and take it as संवन्धावदूरतया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context, as he could not have "acquired a good name," i. e. been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Deccan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The न therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake ; wherefore, the true reading must be संवन्धावदूरतया.

3 Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar.

6 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Work, Vol. III.]

defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamīputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avanti, Anūpa, Surāstra and Aparānta, and dethroned Jayadāman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Castana, but subsequently Rudradāman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and, driving away the Śātavāhanas, regained his lost kingdom, and got himself crowned as Mahāksatrapa. But as appears from the Supara coin of Yajña-Śrī,—which bears such striking resemblance to the Ksatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhapur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Caturapana was his viceroy or representative,—that the Śātavāhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Ksatrapa territories up to the time of Yajña-Śrī. They even entered into blood relationship with the Ksatrapas, as we learn from the Kanheri Inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vāsisthīputra Śātakarni being the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa. But Rudradāman pursued his victories, and according to his Junagad Inscription, twice conquered Śātakarni, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha that he conquered was Yajña-Śrī Śātakarni. He could not have been his son Caturapana; for the expression “non-remoteness of the connection” suits the former better than the latter, as Caturapana’s wife was the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa—perhaps his own—and the connection with him was positively close. The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradāman, took place after the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi’s reign, that is, after about A. D. 149. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers, and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other.

But the date thus assigned to Gotamīputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mātṣya Purāṇa. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purāṇas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the great discrepancy between it and the Mātṣya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as

regards the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Purāṇic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rsis, assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation; and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purāṇas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purāṇas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class, which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vāyu, and next to it the Mātsya. The Visnu is later, and the Bhāgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purāṇas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account. Now the four Purāṇas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and they also mention the names of those princes more particularly; while the Vāyu and the Mātsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned. Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements.

The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Candragupta, whose date as determined by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by Professor Max Muller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years. The number of reigning princes given by the Vāyu is nine, and by the rest, ten; but the names actually enumerated in the Visnu only are ten, while the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata give nine, and the Mātsya, only four. The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vāyu is 133 years; so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purāṇa. Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Mātsya has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption. Thus, if with Dr. Kern, we take B. C. 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the Śunga family must have occurred in the

year B. C. 185. The Śungas are generally stated in all the Purāṇas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhāgavata is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years." In the actual enumeration, the Mātsya omits two, and the Bhāgavata, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vāyu exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here; but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B. C. 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kānvas or Kānvāyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhāgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were followed by the Āndhrabhrtyas. But here, there is a statement in the Vāyu and the Mātsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Āndhrabhrtyas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purāṇa, and Śīsuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kānvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śungas." ¹ And the Kānvas are pointedly spoken of as Śungabhrtyas or "servants of the Śungas." ² It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śunga family became weak, the Kānvas usurped the whole power, and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of the masters, but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brahmans and not Ksatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śungas, include the 45 assigned to the Kānvas. The Śungas and the Kānvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Āndhrabhrtyas came to power in B. C. 73. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vāyu, the Visnu, and the Bhāgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mātsya; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradi-

१ काण्वायनस्त(नं न)तो भुव्यः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तम् । सुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा ॥
सिन्धुको ह्यन्धजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुंधराम् ॥ Vāyu. "a servant of the race of the
Āndhras, Sindhuka, having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family with
main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śungas, will
obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mātsya is similar.

२ चत्वारः सुङ्गभुत्यास्तैः क्वाः काण्वायना द्विजाः । Vāyu.

tion as to thirty princes and about 456 years may, be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purāṇas in this last respect, is very great. This will be apparent from the following table :—

Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Viṣṇu.	Bhāgavata.
Names.	Dura- tion of reign in years.	Names.	Dura- tion of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Sindhuka ..	23	Śīśuka ..	23	Śipraka	Name not gi- ven; but men- tioned as a Vṛṣala or Śūdra.
Kṛṣṇa ...	10	Kṛṣṇa	18	Kṛṣṇa	Kṛṣṇa
		Mallakarṇi	10 or 18	Śrī Śātakarṇi.	Śātakarṇa.
		Pūrṇotsaṅga	18	Pūrṇotsaṅga.	Paurṇamāsa.
		Skandhastam- bhi.	18		
Śātakarṇi ..	56	Śātakarṇi	56	Śātakarṇi	
Apīlava ..	12	Lambodara	18	Lambodara	Lambodara.
		Apītaka	12	Ivilaka	Hivīlaka.
		Meghasvāti	18	Meghasvāti	Meghasvāti.
		Svāti ..	18		
		Skandhasvāti	7		
		Mṛgendrasvāti- karṇa.	3		
		Kuntalasvāti	8		
		Svātikarṇa	1		
Paṭumāvi ..	24	Pulomāvi	36	Patumat	Aṭamāna.
Nemikṛṣṇa	25	Gaurakṛṣṇa or Naurikṛṣṇa.	25	Aṇṣṭakar- man.	Aṇṣṭakar- man Hāleya.
Hāla ..	1	Hāla	5	Hāla	
Saptaka or Maṇḍalaka.	5	Maṇḍulaka	5	Pattalaka	Talaka.
Purikaṣeṇa.	21	Purindrasena	5	Pravillasena.	Puriṣabhīru.
Śātakarṇi	1	Sundara Svāti- karṇa.	1	Sundara	Sunandana.
Cakora Śāta- karṇi.	14	Cakora Svāti- karṇa.	1/3	Cakora	Cakora.
Śivasvāti	28	Śivasvāti ..	28	Śivasvāti	Śivasvāti.
Gautamīputra	21	Gautamīputra.	21	Gomatīputra.	Gomatīputra.
		Pulomat	28	Pulimat	Purimān(mat)
		Śivaśrī	7	Śivaśrī ..	Medaśiras.
		Śivaskandha	7	Śivaskandha.	Śivaskandha.
Yajñaśrī Śā- takarṇi.	29	Yajñaśrī Śāta- karṇi.	29, 9 or 20	Yajñaśrī ...	Yajñaśrī.
Vijaya	6	Vijaya	6	Vijaya	Vijaya.
Daṇḍaśrī Śā- takarṇi.	3	Caṇḍaśrī Śāta- karṇi.	10	Candraśrī ..	Candravijña.
Pulomavi ..	7	Pulomavit ..	7	Pulomārcis ..	Sulomadhī.

Thus, the Vāyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Mātaya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Visnu gives twenty-four names, and the Bhāgavata, twenty-two. This last Purāna has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hāla with the Aristakarman of the Visnu, whom it names Anistakarman Hāleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Visnu Purāna. The details given in the Mātaya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vāyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must, I think, be accounted for in some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vāyu Purāna, in a verse below, to the effect that the "Āndhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years," which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhāgavata by which the Kāṇvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years. The original account, which the author of this Purāna must have seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kāṇvas, and three hundred to the next or Āndhrabhrtya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, viz. 456 years, he connected the "three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kāṇvāyana family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Āndhrabhrtya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paithan and the elderly ones at Dhanakataka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paithan princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakataka. From an Inscription found at Banavāsi by Dr. Burgess, it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kanara. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vāyu Purāna refer probably to the main

branch. The Mātsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years, assigned to the several reigns in the Vāyu, is $272\frac{1}{4}$, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become $300\frac{1}{4}$. Thus then the Vāyu and the Mātsya Purānas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Visnu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vāyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhāgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown

If then we take the account in the Vāyu Purāna to refer to the main branch of the dynasty, and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Śatavāhanas or Āndhrabhŕtyas, and the end of the reign of Śīvasvāti, is 206 years.¹ The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B. C. 73, wherefore the end of Śīvasvāti's reign and the accession of Gotamīputra must be placed in A. D. 133. We have seen that Puṣumāyi, whose capital was Paithan according to Ptolemy, and who from the Inscriptions, appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paithan about 130 A. D.. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Deccan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamīputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamīputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purānas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A. D.. He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Puṣumāyi, *i. e.* in 148, and also in the nineteenth, when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, *i. e.* in 154, according to the two Inscriptions mentioned before. Ptolemy's mention of Puṣumāyi, I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamīputra's and Puṣumāyi's Inscriptions at Nasik, and Rudradā-

1 By adding up the numbers in the table.

man's at Junagad (on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka), as well as those derived from the Purānas, may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the Inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged :

Simuka began to reign in B. C. 73 and ceased in B. C. 50.

Kṛṣṇa began in B. C. 50 and ceased in B. C. 40.

Śātakarṇi (third in the Vāyu P.) began in B. C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16.

Nahapāna Kṣaharāta.

Gotamīputra began in A. D. 133 and ceased in A. D. 154.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puṣumāyi in the Mātsya Purāna are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamīputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakataka in A.D. 154, and to have ceased in A.D. 182. He reigned at Paithan from A.D. 130 to A.D. 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the Inscriptions at Nasik and Karli is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithan, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by Śiva-Śrī, whose coin found in the Tailangana districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 64. He appears to have been Puṣumāyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vāsithīputa, i. e. Vāsisthīputra, or the son of Vāsisthī. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A.D. 165. Śivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country ; while the name of the next, Yajña Śrī, occurs frequently as we have seen in Inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puṣumāyi's immediate successor at Paithan. His full name was Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamīputra of the Kolhapur coins. Some copies of the Mātsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vāyu, twenty-nine ; while the Brahmandā allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahārāṣṭra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakataka, since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāna gives an account of the Dhanakataka branch and

his coins are found in Tailangana. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Puḷumāyi reigned at Dhanakataka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, i. e. for eighteen years, Yājña-Śrī was ruler of Mahārāstra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A. D. 172 and died in about A. D. 202.

The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vāyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country; but coins of Candra-Śrī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the latest ĀndhrabhŒtya date is A. D. 218. Madharīputa Sakasena of the Kanheri Inscription, the same as the Madharīputa of the Kolhapur coins, has been identified with Śiva-Śrī, the successor of Puḷumāyi, by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Śrīsenā for Sakasena; but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amarāvati near Dharanikot, the legend on which he reads as Sakasakasa, but it is not unlikely Sakasenasa, "of Sakasena." Besides, Mādhariputra Śakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puḷumāyi for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhapur coins, figured by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, bears the names of both Gotamīputa and Madharīputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks that it was originally Madharīputa's coin. I think it was Gotamīputa's; for, if we see the other figured coins, we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Madharīputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madharīputa Śakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamīputa Yājña-Śrī Śātakarni. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purāṇic successors bore the name, and the name Śakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the ĀndhrabhŒtyas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakataka also, if my surmise that Mr. Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct.

In the same manner, as observed before, Catusparṇa Śātakarṇi's name does not appear in the Purāṇas. But the Purāṇas cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mātsya Purāṇa another Āndhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Āndhrabhr̥tya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct"¹ The Vāyu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt; but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Āndhrabhr̥tya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out, how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yājña-Śrī's ceasing to reign. Vāsisthīputra Śātakarṇi whom I have identified with Caturapana married a Ksatrapa lady. The Ksatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Śakas who had become Hindus. Madharīputra was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Caturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Caturapana appears to have succeeded Yājña-Śrī; and Madharīputra to have reigned after Caturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corresponds to 185 A. D., and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Śātavaḥanas are, therefore, these :

In Mahārāstra.

Puṣum̐yī	...	...	...	A.D. 130—A.D. 154.
Yājña-Śrī	..	...	..	A.D. 154—A.D. 172.
Catusparṇa or Caturapana	...	...	...	A.D. 172—was reigning in A.D. 185.
Madharīputra	...	...	...	About A.D. 190—was reigning in about A.D. 197.

In Tailangana.

Puṣum̐yī	...	...	...	A.D. 154—A.D. 158.
Śiva-Śrī	..	...	...	A.D. 158—A.D. 165.
Śivaskanda	..	...	...	A.D. 165—A.D. 172.
Yājña-Śrī	.	..	...	A.D. 172—A.D. 202.
Vijaya	...	..	...	A.D. 202—A.D. 208.
Candra-Śrī	...	..	...	A.D. 208—A.D. 211.
Pulomavi	.	.	.	A.D. 211—A.D. 218.

1 अन्ध्राणां सत्विना (ने?) राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वये दृया । सत्विनाम्ना भविष्यन्ति.

Thus then, the Āndhrabhrtiyas or Śātavāhanas ruled over the Deccan from B. C. 73 to about A. D. 218, i. e., for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śāka tribe. How long these were in power, it is difficult to determine. If the Śāka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrapa Nahapāna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamīputra or Pulumāyi, six or seven years after Nahapāna's latest date, viz. 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

SECTION VII.

POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ŚĀTA- VĀHANAS OR ŚĀLIVĀHANAS.

THE period during which the Śātavāhanas or Āndhrabhrtyas ruled over Mahārāstra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemacandra in his *Deśīkośa* gives Śālivāhana, Śālana, Hāla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two names were borne by different princes, and both of them were Śālivāhanas. In his grammar, he gives Śālivāhana as a Prakrit corruption of Śātavāhana.

In modern times, the Śaka era is called the Śālivāhana era or an era founded by Śālivāhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century, speak of the era as Śaka-nrpa-kāla, i. e., the era of the Śaka king or as Śakakāla, i. e., the era of the Śaka, and in an Inscription at Badami it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression "Śake, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Śake or "in the Śaka". The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king, it was associated with the name of Śālivāhana, whom tradition had represented to be such a king; and thus we now use the expression Śālivāhana Śaka, which, etymologically, can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families.

The current legend makes Śālivāhana the son of a Brahman girl who was a sojourner at Paithan and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion

she went to the Godāvarī to bathe, when Śesa, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Śālivāhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.¹ Some time after, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetāla or King of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetāla saw Śālivāhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he invaded Paithan with a large army, but Śālivāhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayinī on Paithan I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Śālivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puṣumāyī who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Castana or Jayadāman and Rudradāman, whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinī. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puṣumāyī-Śālivāhana's relations with the Śakas and their Satrapa kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana. A work of the name of Brhatkathā, written in that form of the Prakrit which is called the Pāisāci or the language of goblins, is mentioned by Dandin in his work, the Kāvyaḍarśa.² Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Ksemendra, the author of the Brhatkathā, profess to have derived their stories from this Pāisāci Brhatkathā. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇādhya, who for some time had been minister to Śātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kānabhūti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇādhya offered them to king Śātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written

1 The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is, in the Kathāsaritsāgara, mentioned with reference to Guṇādhya who was the son of the girl. Śātavāhana's origin is given differently.

2 भूतभाषामयी ब्राह्मकथायां बृहत्कथाम् ।

in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇādhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇādhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.¹

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Śātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words: Modakaih paritādaya mām. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, Mā "do not" and Udakaih "with waters," but taking it to be one word, meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought, and began to throw pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense; but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Guṇādhya and Śārvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause; and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Śārvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted; but as it was not possible to do so, Śārvavarman propitiated the God Kārtikeya or Skanda by his self-mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sūtra of a new grammar, Siddho Varnasamāmnāyah. Thereupon Śārvavarman repeated the other Sūtras, when Kārtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty, and had allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pāṇini's; but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—Kātantra, and would also be called Kālāpaka after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Śārvavarman taught to the king.²

1 Kathāsaritsāgara, II. 8.

2 Kathāsaritsāgara V I. 108 & ff.

The same story is told by Tārānātha in his "History of Buddhism"¹; but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śārvavarman, Saptavarman; while the competitor of Śārvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuci instead of Guṇādhyā. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Southern India, and Śātavāhana in the form of Śāntivāhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuci lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śātavāhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the South, though the usual Udayana is a Northern prince

It will thus appear that the Kātantra grammar was composed by Śārvavarman at the request of a prince of the Śātavāhana family. And the same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang, when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pāṇini and others: "Lately a Brahman of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them further to 2,500 ślokaś. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."²

There is a work written in the old Mahārāṣṭrī dialect called Saptasatī, which is of the nature of an anthology, consisting of Gāthās or stanzas in the Āryā metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is, in the third verse, mentioned as Hāla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śālivāhana. Bāṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harsa-carita as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śālivāhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśa-rūpaka, in the Sarasvatī-Kanthābharana, and in the Kāvya-prakāśa. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Āndhrabhritya princes, one of the name of Hāla, who probably was either the author of the work, or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet.

¹ Schiefner's Translation, p. 73 & ff.

² Life of Hwan Thsang, Beal's Trans., p. 122.

From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Āndhrabhrtyas, and that the Prakrits or spoken languages, especially the Mahārāstri, were probably for the first time, used for literary purposes. In Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Śātakarni Śāta-vāhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavati, (who is called Mahādevī, and consequently must have been his chief queen,) by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.¹ The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Māteya Purāṇa.

1 कर्तर्या कन्तलः शतकर्णिः शतबाह्वो महादेवीं मलयवती [जघान]. Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217 b., does not contain the name मलयवती, and he supplies गणिकी from the preceding clause; but a Gaṇikā or courtesan cannot be called Mahādevī.

SECTION VIII.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA UNDER THE ĀNDRABHṚTYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahābhōjas and Mahārāṭhis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarṇakāras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhānyakāśrenis), druggists (Gāndhikas), and ordinary householders (Grhasthas), caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned above that in the first part of this period, the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Śakas, and Pahlavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the Cave Inscriptions, there are a good many Śakas and Yavanas. But some, and especially the Śakas, seem to have adopted Brahmanism. The Buddhist temples were provided with Cāityas or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhiksus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of Śrāvana, the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea; and hence at the head of several of the creeks in Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharma-śālās or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahad and Kude, situated respectively on the Dabhol, the Bankot, and the Rajapuri creeks. For those who

landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghod-Bandar, there were the Kanheri caves.

Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the Inscription at Nasik, in which Usavadāta dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense, for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brahmans. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now Usavadāta fed a hundred thousand Brahmans, as the Maharaj Sindia did about thirty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brahmans married at one's expense then as now Gotamiputra also, in the same Inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brahmans, and as having, like Usavadāta, put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the Inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the *Periplus*, to Barugaza or Bharukaccha, the modern Bharooh; and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west.

Paithan is placed by the author of the *Periplus* at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakshinabades or Dakṣiṇāpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan.¹ This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the Cave Inscriptions; but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century, and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silāhāra, call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar;

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144.

but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dharur in the Nizam's territory as the site of the ancient city.

The other sea-port towns mentioned in the Periplus are: (2) Souppara, the modern Supare or Supara near Bassein and the Śorparaka of the Inscriptions and the Purāṇas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr. Campbell and Pandit Bhagvanlal; (3) Kalliena, the modern Kalyan, which must have been a place of great commercial importance, since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kanheri and some mentioned in the caves at Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyan;¹ (4) Semulla, identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others; (5) Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mandad, originally Mandagada, situated on the Rajapuri creek near Kude, where we have the caves; (6) Palaipatnai, which probably was the same as Pal which is near Mahad; (7) Melizeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagad and which must be identified with that place, whatever the first part Meli may mean; (8) Buzantion, and others.

Buzantion is probably the Vaijayanti² of the Inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified, it is difficult to say. Vaijayanti is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates, translated by Mr. Telang,³ and was most probably some place in North Kanara. In a grant of the Vijayanagara dynasty, Mādhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantipura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.⁴ Jayantipura is said to be another name for Banavasi. In the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata, Banavasi is spoken of, as if it were the name of a country, and

1 See the Inscriptions in JBBRAS, Vol. VI, and in Arch. Surv., W. India, No. 10.

2 Karli No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, pp. 318 and 321.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 115.

immediately after it, Jayanti is mentioned as a town.¹ If then Jayanti and Vaijayanti were two forms of the same name, Vaijayanti was probably the modern Banavasi, or perhaps, in consideration of the facts that the name of Vaijayanti occurs in an Inscription at Karli, and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagad to the southern limit of North Kanara, Vaijayanti may be identified with Vijayadurga. But these objections are not of very great weight.

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paithan and Tagara there was Nasik, which is mentioned in an Inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Bedsa. The district about the town was called Govardhana.

Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was, we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jūrnānagara, or Jirnanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapāna. Pulumāyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapāna, is, in one of the Nasik Inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the New Town. That he reigned at Paithan we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Śālivāhana, which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the Inscription was probably another name given to the town when Pulumāyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapāna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Pulumāyi widened the old town of Paithan and called the new extension Navanara.

What town existed near the group of caves at Karli and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an Inscription

1 Chap. XXXI, vv. 69 and 70, Bom. Ed. The Vanavāsinaḥ at the end of v. 69 refers to the town or country of Banavāsī, and ought properly to appear as Vanavāsikān. In the Purāṇas, too, Vanavāsikāḥ is given as the name of a people,

named Valuraka,¹ and the district in which it was situated is called Māmalahāra,² or the district of Māmala, the modern Maval.

Further south there was the town of Karahātaka, the modern Karhad, which is mentioned in an Inscription at Kude³ and also in the Mahābhārata.⁴ Kolhapur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhist Stūpa containing the coins we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhad or Kolhapur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Balsocuros, whom we have identified with the Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhapur coins.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great Chaitya-cave at Karli was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Śreṣṭhin) of Vaijayanti, and in other places also, especially at Kanheri, their gifts were costly.

There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers &c. Their organisation seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation.

Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A Nigamasabhā or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Usavadāta's Nasik Inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days.

It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 Kārsāpanas, deposited by Usavadāta, was 100 Kārsāpanas, and in another case, that on 1000 was 75, showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to

1 No. 14, Karli. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. No. 10.

2 Ibid. No. 19.

3 No. 20, Kuda Caves. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. No. 10.

4 In the place above referred to.

the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed, notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayanti or Banavāsi, and Śorpāraka or Supara, are recorded in the cave at Karli; of a Nasik merchant at Bedsa; of some inhabitants of Bharukaccha and Kalyan at Junnar; of natives of Northern India and Dattāmitri, which, I have elsewhere shown, was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nasik; and of an iron-monger of Karahātaka or Karhad at Kude. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nasik and Karhad are recorded on the Stūpa at Bharhut, which lies midway between Jabbalpore and Allahabad.¹ Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

¹ Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

SECTION IX.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE EXTINCTION OF THE ĀNDRABHṚTYAS AND THE RISE OF THE CALUKYAS.

FOR about three centuries after the extinction of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mātsya and the Vāyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Āndhrabhṛtyas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madharīputra of the Inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Ksatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhad is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Ksatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Deccan after the Śātavāhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sāha¹ (or Sena) whose date is 144² which, if the era is that of the Śaka kings, corresponds to A. D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Śātavāhanas is about A. D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhad is Viśva Sāha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A. D. 292 and A. D. 302.³

About this time princes of the race of Ābhīras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purāṇas. In the Nasik caves there is an Inscription dated in the ninth year of Virasena Ābhīra, the son of Damarī and of Śivadatta Ābhīra.⁴ The characters in the Inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the Inscriptions of the latter Āndhrabhṛtya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit,

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 17.

2 Ibid. p. 38 (No. 10).

3 Ibid. No. 15.

4 Ibid. No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con., 1874, p. 341

which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pali, or the Pali became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Āndhrabṛtyas, the language used was mostly the Pali, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prakrits of the period.

The Ābhīras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vāyu Purāṇa. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purāṇas as having ruled over the country. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families. It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

We have seen from the Cave Inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Ksatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Ratṭhis or Rāṣṭrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Deccan or Mahārāstra these called themselves "the Great Ratṭhis or Mahārattis, the ancient Marāṭhās," but in other places the name in use must have been Ratṭhis or Ratthas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Maratha Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Rattha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūta) and called themselves Ratthakūḍa, and later on Rāthoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāstrakūṭa. Or the Rāstrakūṭa family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Ratthas that had spread over the whole country. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Āndhrabṛtyas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Ksatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Ābhīras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only; for the tradition of Gauḷi or cowherd rulers, which very probably refers to them, is confined to the Nasik and Khandesh districts.

The Rāstrakūtas probably rose to power about the same time as the Abhīras. Hence in the Inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet, first brought to light by Mr. Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot¹ respectively, it is stated that Jayasimha, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty in the Deccan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa of the Rāstrakūta family. The Cālukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Deccan was ruled over by princes of the Rāstrakūta family.

An Inscription on copper-plates, found in the Caitya of one of the caves at Kanheri, is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakūtaka.² But the published copy of the Inscription was made in the time of Dr. Bird, and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. The Strakūtaka may be a mislection for Rāstrakūta. But it is not unlikely Traikūtaka, as the late Pandit Bhagvanlal contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikūtakas by a prince of the name of Darhasena³ in the year 207. Traikūtaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it. And the Kanheri Inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own. From the form of the characters in the Inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era; so that the Traikūtaka dynasty was founded about the middle of the third century, i. e. after the extinction of the Śātavāhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available; and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled. But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Cedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalacuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A. D. and held sway over a part of the Deccan including the western coast up to the country of Lāta. They were afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Cedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura, the capital of the dynasty, and Trikūṭa is perhaps not fortuitous.

¹ JRAS., Vols II, III, IV; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 12.

² JBRRAS., Vol. V, p. 16, of the copies of the Kanheri Inscription.

³ JBRRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 346.

⁴ { R. G. Bhandarkar Works, Vol. III, }

SECTION X.

THE EARLY CALUKYAS.

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Calikya, Calukya, or Cālukya.¹ A large number of Inscriptions on copper-plates and stone-tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary origin of this family is thus given by Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, or life of Vikramāditya a prince of the later or restored Cālukya line. On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva looked at his 'culuka', or the hand hollowed for the

1 Dr. Fleet draws a distinction between Calukya and Cālukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early Inscriptions." But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early Inscriptions. The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or च़ is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakably. The Inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose; we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them. In the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III (*Ind. ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 65), we have यश्चालुक्यकुलाद्वन &c., in verse 3. In the Navasari grant edited by me (*JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257) we have चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मी. &c. In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr. Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 44, 47 & 57). The form चलुक्य is also frequently used. The distinction between च and च़ and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr. Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pāṇini and of the Brāhmaṇas, but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prakrit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language. Calukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find.

reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Cālukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hārīta and Mānavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyā, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the South.

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Cālukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mānavya and were the descendants of Hārīti. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kārtikeya. They obtained from Nārāyaṇa a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhana in representing Ayodhyā as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century.

The first prince who raised the family to distinction in the South was Jayasimha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, with those belonging to the Rāstrakūṭa family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Ranarāga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person.

He was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi, who performed a great *Āśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next. He made Vātāpīpura, which has been identified with Badami in the Kaladgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakeśi Vallabha Mahārāja. Of these words, Vallabha appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, Vallabha had Pṛthvi prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth." Satyāśraya or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes.

Pulakesi's son Kirtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled we do not know. He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an Inscription at Afhole¹ upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavāsi in North Kanara.

Kirtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Maṅgalīśa therefore came to the throne after him. Maṅgalīśa vanquished the Kalacuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Cedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabbalpore. Buddha, son of Śaṅkaragana, whom he is represented in one grant² to have conquered and put to flight, must have been a Kalacuri prince, as the name Śaṅkaragana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty.

Maṅgalīśa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatīdvīpa, or the Island of Revatī. A copperplate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa³, from which it would appear that Revatī was very probably the old name of Redī⁴ situated a few miles to the south of Vengurla. In an Inscription in a cave-temple at Badami, it is stated that the temple⁵ was caused to be excavated by Maṅgalīśa. He there placed an idol of Viṣṇu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nārāyanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brahmans to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This Inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Śaka era had elapsed. The reign in the twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated, is taken to be the reign of Maṅgalīśa. On this supposition Maṅgalīśa began to reign in 489 Śaka; but I

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 241.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 161. See also Vol. XIX, p. 17.

3 JBRRAS., Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

4 Revatī should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revatī or Re-a-ḍī and then to Reḍī.

5 Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 305.

have elsewhere¹ brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Mangaliśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism² that I have seen on my observations, seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kirtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kirtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Śaka corresponding to A. D. 567. In that Inscription Mangaliśa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Aditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully. In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Bevatī, referred to above, Śaka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Mangaliśa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Cālukya family. He could not have been Kirtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Mangaliśa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 533 Śaka. He must therefore have been Mangaliśa himself, and if Śaka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka.³ Kirtivarman thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A. D. 567 to 513 Śaka or A. D. 591, that is, for twenty-four years.

1 JBBEAS., Vol. XIV, pp. 23—25.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, pp. 57-58.

3 See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above. In a recently published article Dr. Fleet places the accession of Maṅgaliśa in 521 Śaka current, being led to it by the occurrence in an Inscription of that prince of the words राज्यपञ्चमश्री वर्षे प्रवर्त्तमाने सिद्धार्थे. I have carefully examined the facsimile of the Inscription given in the article; and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. राज्य and प्रवर्त्तमाने are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word श्री also. But पञ्चम is highly doubtful; the letter which Dr. Fleet reads म is exactly like that which he reads ऋ; and there is some vacant space after ऋ and म in which something like another letter appears. Similarly the सि of सिद्धार्थे is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other Inscription of the early Cālukyas does the cyclic year appear. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 9 and ff.)

In the latter years of his reign Mangalīśa seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakeśi off from the succession, and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakeśi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel, he neutralized all the advantage that Mangalīśa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Mangalīśa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakeśi, the son of Kirtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Prthvi-Vallabha Mahārāja. From a copper-plate¹ grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Śaka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 Śaka or A.D. 611. After Mangalīśa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appāyika and another named Govinda (who very probably belonged to the Rāstrakūta race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family) attacked the new Cālukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakeśi; and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.² He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavāsi, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Cera³ country situated about the modern province of Mysore, and the head of the Alupa⁴ race, which probably held the province of Malabar, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Puri,⁵ which was the

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 243, line 8 of the Inscription. From the words *ca, ekena* and *aparepa* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr. Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake; and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 363, and Vol. VII, p. 168.

4 The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar Coast.

5 The town is called the Lakṣmī of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śiṣhāras.

mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lāta, Malava, and Gurjara were conquered and became his dependents.

About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harsavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the North. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadā, but was opposed by Pulakeśi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakeśi received or assumed the title of Paramēśvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakeśi II. Pulakeśi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadā to guard the frontiers.

Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāstrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and Kalinga¹ trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kāñcīpura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kāverī and invaded the country of the Colas, the Pāndyas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have become his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the South, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the Inscription from which the greater portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A.D. 634, so that Pulakesi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 634.

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India. In the course of his travels through the country he visited Mahārāstra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha*. He saw Pulakeśi, whom he thus describes: "He is of the race of *Tsa-tu-lu* (Ksatriyas): his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she*; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion."²

1 For the position of these countries, see Sec. III, para 2.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 290.

About Pulakesi's having withstood the power of Harsavardhana, which we have before mentioned on the authority of Inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words: "At present the great king Śīlāditya (Harsavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west; he subdues distant peoples and makes the neighbouring nations fear him; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners."¹

The Chinese traveller visited Mahārāstra about the year A.D. 639, that is, five years after the Inscription referred to above was incised. The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a larger river. The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahārāstra are thus described by him: "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol., VII, p. 291.

upon the road the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor They run in a body trampling everything under their feet No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms "

Pulakeśi II appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty; and his fame reached even foreign countries. He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II, king of Persia, who reigned from A. D. 591 to A. D. 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after.¹

During his reign the power of the Cālukyas was established over a very large extent of country. His younger brother Visnuvardhana, otherwise called Visamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Satara and Pandharpur districts, since a copper-plate Inscription of his found at Satara records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhīmā.² Visnuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Vengi between the lower Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī, where he founded another flourishing branch of Cālukya dynasty. Pulakeśi's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nasik For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpuri taluka of that district, Nāgavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the village of Balegrāma, which has been identified with the modern Belgaṃ Tarhala, about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpuri, for the worship of the god Kāpālikeśvara.³ The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparāstra. Similarly, Pulakeśi's eldest son Candrāditya ruled over the province which contained the Savantvadi district. In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhattachārikā, the queen of Candrāditya,

1 Arch. Sur. W. India, No. 9. pp. 90-92.

2 JBBRAS., Vol. II, p. 11.

3 JBBRAS., Vol. II, p. 4, first translated by Bāla Śāstrī and then by me (JBBRAS., Vol. XIV), and last of all by Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 123).

10 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Work., Vol. III,]

who is styled Prthvivallabha and Mahārāja or great king, assigns to certain Brahmans a field along with the adjoining Khajana (modern Khājana) or marshy land in the village of Kocarem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Vengurle. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of svarājya or "one's own reign". Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramāditya, the second son of Pulakeśi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government. Candrāditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as svarājya or her reign. It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone. The religious merit arising from them is sought by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayabhattachārikā might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning monarch at that time.

Another son of Pulakeśi named Ādityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tungabhadra,¹ as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District.

An undated grant of Pulakesi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published. In it he sanctions the grant of the village of Āmravātaka made by his maternal uncle Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja, "the ornament" of the Sendraka race.² This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Cālukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka chief Devaśakti.³ Inscriptions of Sendrakas are found in Gujarat also, where probably they went when the power of the Cālukyas was established in that province. The name Sendraka is probably preserved in the modern Maratha name Sinde.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 244, and JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 223.

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 51.

³ JBBRAS. Vol. XVI, p. 223. See also below.

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśi's *priyatanaya* or favourite son; so that it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Candrāditya.

At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance; but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the North who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far South. The Pallava king of Kāñci or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Colas, the Pāndyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramāditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñci, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Citrakantha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas".¹

During the reign of Vikramāditya I, a branch of the Calukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarat or the country called Lāta in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharāśraya, who thus was another son of Pulakeśi II.² Śryāśraya Śilāditya son of Jayasimha made a grant of land while residing at Navasari in the year 421,³ and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumēśvara with his victorious army.⁴ In both of these Śryāśraya is called Yuvarāja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimha named Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Mangalarāja issued a similar charter in the Śaka year

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 86, 89, 92, JBBRAS., Vol. III, p. 203, and Ind. Int., Vol. IX, pp. 127, 130-131.

2 JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 2.

3 Ibid. pp. 2 and 3.

4 Transactions VII., Or. Congr., p. 226.

653.¹ Pulakeśi, who represents himself as the younger brother of Jayāśraya Mangalarasārāja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490.² Both are styled kings.

From all this it appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarat, did not rule over the province himself but made his son Śryāśraya his regent. He held that position for more than twenty-two years; and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakeśi's grant. Pulakeśi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother. Śryāśraya died before his father; Jayāśraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakeśi.

The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era, be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively; while Jayāśraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A. D. But Vinayāditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A. D.³, and Jayasimha whose Yuvarāja was Śryāśraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A. D., i. e. 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramāditya; while the interval between Pulakeśi and his immediate predecessor Jayāśraya will become 77 years, as Śaka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A. D.

The Gupta era will, therefore, not do; and we must with the late Pandit Bhagvanlal refer the dates to the Traikūtaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances. Thus Śryāśraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A. D., of Jayāśraya 731 A. D., and of Pulakeśi 739 A. D., and there will be no incongruity. But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Śryāśraya and Pulakeśi to be 69 years; and if we take the later date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharāśraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years.

1 JBERAS., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

2 Transactions VII, Or. Congr., p. 230.

3 See below,

In Pulakeśi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tājikas which had destroyed the Saindhava,¹ Kaccella,² Saurāstra, Cāvotaka,³ Maurya,⁴ Gurjara⁵ and other kings, and on its way to Dakṣiṇāpatha to conquer the southern kings, had come to Navasari to reduce that country first. Thereupon Vallabhanarendra, who must have been Vijayāditya or Vikramāditya II, the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha" (Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra), "Ornament of the family of Caluka" (Calukakulālamkāra), "Beloved of the earth" (Prthivivallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakanivartayitr) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanījanāśraya). As "Tājika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tājika" of a branch of astrology, borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A. D. and 750 A. D. by Mahammad Kasim and his successors⁶ Navasari was the capital of the Cālukyas of Lāta or southern Gujarat.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarat Cālukyas found at Khera and translated by Prof. Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz, Jayasimharāja, Buddhavarmanarāja, and Vijayarāja.⁷ Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasimha the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasimharman, the brother of Vikramāditya I and founder of the Gujarat branch of the dynasty; for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Cālukya princes with Gujarat. The grant, however,

1 King of modern Sindh.

2 Very likely king of Kaccha.

3 King of Anahilpaṭṭaṇa of the Cāpotkaṭa race.

4 King of the Maurya race; probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarat.

5 King of the Gujarat race; ruled over the Broach District.

6 Elphinstone's History of India.

7 JRAS., Vol. I., p. 268.

appears to me to be a forgery.¹ The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jaysimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarāja must have ruled over another part of Gujarat. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

After Vikramāditya I, his son Vinayāditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,² another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year.³ There is also an Inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occurring in which is 608 Śaka and the seventh year of his reign.⁴ From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A. D. 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign. His latest year is A. D. 694, but his reign terminated in A. D. 696, as is seen from his son's grants referred to below.

During his father's lifetime, Vinayāditya assisted him in his wars with the Southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, i. e. Cola, Pāndya, and Kerala, and tranquillizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A. D. 692—A. D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kālabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Colas, Pāndyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Cālukya crown as the Ganga family of Cera and the Alupas, whose loyalty was for the first

1 My reasons are these —(1) Its style is unlike that of the Cālukya grants. (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, i. e., so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises. (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix *rāja*, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Cālukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Biruda* as all Cālukya princes from Pulakeśi I downwards had.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86.

3 Ibid., pp. 89, 92.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

time secured by Pulakeśi II.¹ The kings of Kāvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pārasikas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar, and of Simhala were made tributaries.

He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called Pāli-dhvaja, the drum called Dhakkā, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors.² A chief of the name of Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his, in the South about Mysore.³

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the Southern kings and his father in the expedition into the North. At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty.

There is an Inscription at Badami in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmā, Visnu, and Mahesvara were put up at Vāṭāpīpura in Śaka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Śaka 622 on the full-moon day of Āsādhā and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Śaka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phālguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.⁴ On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Śaka after the full-moon day of Āsādhā corresponding to A. D. 696. The first two of these grants, and another which bears no

1 This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol., IX, pp. 127 and 131.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 143.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

date, were found at Nerur in the Savantvadi state.¹ Vijayāditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

After Vijayāditya, his son Vikramāditya II ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone-tablet, is dated in 656 Śaka and in the second year of his reign,² wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Śaka or A.D. 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramāditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tudāka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field. The Cālukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music.

He then entered the city of Kāñci, but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brahmans and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rājasimheśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Colas, the Pāndyas, the Keralas, and the Kālābhras, and reduced them.³

Vikramāditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahādevī and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Pattadakal in the Kaladgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahādevī, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyēśvara. The latter was the mother of Kirtivarman the next king.⁴ Vikramāditya reigned for fourteen years.

His son Kirtivarman II began to reign in 669 Śaka or A.D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka.⁵ He assisted his father in his wars with

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131; and JBERAS, Vol. III, p. 203 et. seq.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 26.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 165. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 5.

5 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 27.

the Pallavas. On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission. The ruler of Kāñci, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress. His power was broken by the Cālukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil.

During the reign of this prince the Cālukyas were deprived of their power in Mahārāstra, and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Rāstrakūta princes. The main branch of the dynasty became extinct: but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power. From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Cālukyas; but Rāstrakūta plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Radhanpur in Northern Gujarat to Samangad near Kolhapur and Nagpur in the Central Provinces. The grant of Kirtivarman II, from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant.

The name of the Rāstrakūta monarch who first humbled the Cālukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Kṛṣṇa. In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Samangad he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.¹ The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka. Before that time, therefore, the Cālukyas must have lost their hold over Mahārāstra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, the Cālukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kirtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Cālukyas.

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Cālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence. Ravikīrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole Inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakeśi II. Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapandita or Niravadyapandita, the house pupil of Śrīpūjyapāda, who be-

¹ JBBRAS., Vol. II, p. 375.

11 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

longed to the Devagana sect of the Mūlasamgha, i. e. of the Digambara Jainas. Niravadyapandita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayāditya's¹ father, i. e. Vinayāditya Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapandita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant.² But Jainism in those days, as at the present, probably flourished in the Southern Maratha Country only.

If the Pūjyapāda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapandita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayāditya's death, i. e. about 600 Śaka or 678 A. D. All that is known about Pūjyapāda and his relations to the Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date. But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pūjyapāda.

No Inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Cālukya princes. But that the religion did prevail, and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline.

With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brahmanism and especially of the sacrificial religion. The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit; but we now see them rising into importance. Pulakēśi I is mentioned in all the Inscriptions in which his name occurs, as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the *Āśva-medha*.

I have elsewhere³ remarked that the names of most of the famous Brahmanical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of Svāmin attached to them; and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore. The period of the early Cālukyas appears to be that period.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII p. 112.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 197.

³ Report on MSS. for 1884, pp. 31, 32.

Amongst the Brahman grantees of these princes we have Nandīsvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin;¹ Dāsasvāmin the son of Jannasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmi-Dīksita;² Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Nāgammasvāmin, another Devasvāmin, Gargasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin,³ Prabhākarsvāmin, Keśavasvāmin,⁴ &c. There are others whose names have not this title attached to them. Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial Sūtras and rites, viz. Karkasvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Keśavasvāmin. Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Cālukyas reigned in Mahārāstra; and probably flourished in the Deccan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahmanism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Rsis.

And the Purānic side of Brahmanism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Purānic triad, Brahmā, Visnu, and Mahesvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nasik grant of Nāgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kāpālikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show. Cave Architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purānic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave temple at Badami dedicated to the worship of Visnu by Mangaliśa. The Cālukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

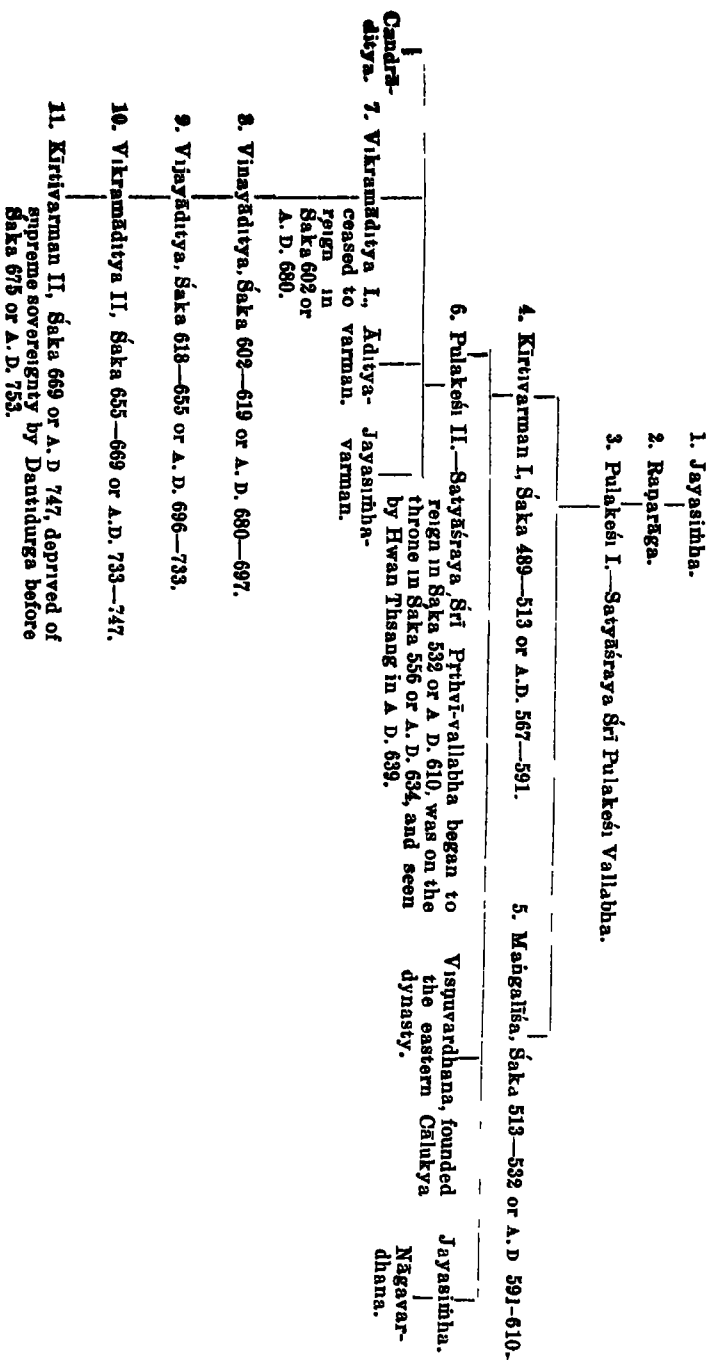
1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 77.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 128.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 131.

4 JBERAS, Vol. XVI, pp. 237, 239.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY CALUKYAS.



SECTION XI.

THE RĀSTRAKŪTAS.

The Rāstrakūtas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadu.¹ According to the Wardha plates they were members of the Sātyaki branch of the race; and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Ratta. He had a son of the name of Rāstrakūta after whom the family was so called. These are clearly imaginary persons; and as remarked before, the Rāstrakūta family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Ksatriyas named Ratthas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāstra and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya.

The Rāstrakūtas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Śātavāhanas and the Cālukyas who established themselves in the Deccan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated.

The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an Inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśavatāras at Ellora, the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarāja, occur.² The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikīrti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Cālukya king Pulakeśi II and to have afterwards become his ally.

Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brahmans performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indrarāja came to the throne. Indrarāja married a girl who belonged to the Cālukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Rāstrakūtas themselves.

¹ Kharepatan plate, JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 217, Sangh plates, JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 111.; Navasari plates and Wardha plates, JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p. 239 et seq.

² Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 10, pp. 92-96.

From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnāṭaka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kāñci, the Keralas, Colas, and Pāndyas, and of Śrīharsa, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajrata¹; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Cālukya king Kirtivarman II with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the South². He also subdued the kings of Kāñci, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrī-Śaila,³ Mālava, Lāṭa, and Tanka. At Ujjayinī he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity⁴. A grant of Dantidurga found at Samangad in the Kolhapur district bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A. D. 753⁵.

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karda,⁶ and his paternal uncle Kṛṣṇarāja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at Baroda⁷ omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Kṛṣṇarāja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race."

The prince dethroned or destroyed by Kṛṣṇarāja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kavi, and another found in the Navasari district, Kṛṣṇa is represented

1 The army of Karnāṭaka was thus the army of the Cālukyas

2 Samangad grant, JBBRAS, Vol II, p. 375

3 This must have been the country about Śrī-Śaila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikārjuna and which is situated on the lower Kṛṣṇa in the Karnul District, Madras Presidency.

4 Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. loc. cit

5 Referred to above.

6 JRAS, Vol III.

7 Published in JBAS, Vol. VIII, pp. 292—303.

to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death.¹ The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Karda plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Kṛṣṇarāja, otherwise called Śubhatunga and also Akālavarṣa, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Cālukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants² he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Cālukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed³—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Lakṣmī⁴" of paramount sovereignty. He is said to have defeated Rāhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty. Who⁵ this person was we have not the means of determining.

In the Wardha plates Kṛṣṇarāja is represented to have constructed many temples of Śiva, which resembled the Kaulāsa mountain.⁶ In the Baroda grant it is stated that Kṛṣṇarāja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elāpura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it, they were struck with wonder, and constantly thought

1 See stanza 11 (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 146) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्निव [गते] remains, and lines 15 and 16, JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p. 257, lines 14, 15.

2 Vanī-Dindori (JRAS., Vol. V) and Rādhānpur (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 65) grants.

3 The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them. The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea. The story originated from the double sense which the word parvata bears in the Vedas. It denotes "a mountain" and "a cloud" also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

4 Viṣṇu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakṣmī from it, whom he married.

5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 182, l. 13.

6 Loc. cit.

much over the matter saying to themselves, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; for, such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Kṛṣṇa with his own hands again decorated Śambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies, and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gangā, the moon, and the deadly poison."

The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Śīrur for Śrīpura, &c. The Elāpura of the Inscription, therefore, is Elur; and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailāsa itself¹. Thus it appears that it was Kṛṣṇarāja that caused the Kailāsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Kṛṣṇarāja must have reigned

1 Dr. Bühler in his paper in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Kṛṣṇarāja) with the hill at Elapur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva." He has not identified Elāpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas. He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered. That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt, but the translation in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* is far worse and Dr. Bühler was misled by it. Dr. Fleet has published a revised translation (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first. He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 124), and now thinks Elāpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Kṛṣṇarāja's "encampments." He identifies Elapur with Yellapur in the North Kanara districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elāpura, and Elurā from Elāpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-out temple at Elura is meant to be spoken of, and actually the existence of a Rāstrakūṭa Inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion. That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 221, where the reader will find the point fully discussed.

in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, i. e., between 753 and 775 A. D.

Kṛṣṇarāja was succeeded by his son Govinda II¹ Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course, the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother, Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. The Wardha grant states that he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, and left the cares of the kingdom to his younger brother Nirupama; and thus allowed the sovereignty to drop away from his hands. But subsequently he seems from the Paithan² grant to have endeavoured to regain his power with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, when Dhruva vanquished him in a battle and formally assumed the insignia of supreme sovereignty.

At the end of a Purāṇa entitled *Harivamśa* of the Digambara Jainas, it is stated that the work was composed by Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Kṛṣṇa was ruling over the South Govinda II is in the Kavi and Paithan grants called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva, the second son of Kṛṣṇa I, was Kalivallabha. Govinda II, therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the Śaka year 705, or A.D. 783.³

Dhruva was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhārāvārsa. He humbled the Pallava king of Kāñci and obtained from him

1 The name of this prince is omitted in the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant; but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his elder brother.

2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 107.

3
 शाकेष्वब्धशतेषु समस्तु विश्वं वञ्चोन्नेषुल्लगं
 पातीन्द्रायुधनास्त्रि कृष्णतुपजं श्रीवल्लभे उल्लिखाम् ।
 पूर्वा श्रीमद्वन्निष्ठमुनि नृपे वन्तादि (धि) गजं प्रगं
 सौर्या (रा) गामयिमण्डले (लं) जययुने कीर्ते वराहं प्रीति ॥

Rajendralal's Skr. MSS, Vol. VI, p. 80, and MSS in the Deccan College Collections.

12 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

a tribute of elephants. He detained in custody the prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Cera country. He also carried his arms into the North against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kauśāmbi, the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauda country. He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Marwar and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauda king.¹ The Jaina *Harivamśa* represents a Vatsa prince as ruling over the west in Śaka 705. He must have been the same as that vanquished by Nirupama. According to the Navasari grant Nirupama took away the umbrella of the king of Kosala also; and in the Wardha plates he is represented as having three white umbrellas. A stone Inscription at Pattadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama. There he is styled Dhārāvārsa and Kalivallabha.² The last name occurs also in the Wardha grant and the first in that found at Paithan. This prince does not appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Śaka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paithan charter was issued.

Dhruva-Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Radhanpur and Vani-Dindori grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808³ while he was at Mayūrakhandī. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nasik territory of the name of Morkhand. Whether Mayūrakhandī was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined. Govinda III was certainly one of the greatest of the Rāstrakūta princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāstrakūtas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purāṇic history did when under the guidance of Kṛṣṇa, appears credible. Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour; but

1 Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur plates.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI. p. 125.

3 The *Samvatsara* or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarvajit*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 730, while in the second it is *Vyaya* corresponding to 729 current. As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarāja or prince-regent.¹

When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Rāstrakūtas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Ganga prince of Cera, who had been kept in custody by his father; but no sooner did he go back to his native country, than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again.

Subsequently he marched against the Gurjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Malwa, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him. After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhya. When Mārāsarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before. On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śrībhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadra, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kāñci under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Veṅgi, or the country between the lower Kṛṣṇa and the Godāvari, who probably belonged to the eastern Čālukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant.²

1 The Kavi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, i. e. when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147, v. 27. The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt. The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants.

2 Vanī Dindori and Radhanpur plates.

This grand victorious march to the North and the South must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A. D. 804. For, in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kanarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñci had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadra" he allotted some lands to one Śivadhāri at a holy place named Rāmeśvara.¹ His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after Śaka 716 past, or 794 A. D., since the Paithan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them.

Govinda III thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malwa in the North to Kāñcipura in the South, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and Tungabhadra. The Vani-Dindori plates convey a village situated in the Nasik district, while those found in the Kanarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadra. The province of Lāta, situated between the Mahi and the lower Tāpi, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,² who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III, as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhūtavarsa or "Raining profusely," Prthvivallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śri-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lāta, in Śaka 734 or A. D. 812, and the Kavi grant, by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in Śaka 749 or A. D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujarat than of the Deccan.

In several of the grants belonging to this dynasty, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattunga. Now, since Govinda III was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty,

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 126-7

² Kavi plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 147, v. 29; Baroda grant. JBAS, Vol. VIII, p. 296, v. 21, in which नद्व ought to be नद्व as in the Kavi.

it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants. Jagattunga, the son of Nirupama, must, therefore, be Govinda himself and no other.

After his death his son Amoghavarṣa, whose proper name appears to have been Śarva,¹ came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Cālukyas of Vengi and put several of the princes to death.² In the Navasari grant Amoghavarṣa is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled Rājārāja or king of kings and also Vira-Nārāyaṇa. This last title is justified by the poetic writer of the grant by saying that as the God Nārāyaṇa brought out the earth which was immersed in the ocean, so did Vallabha bring the goddess of sovereignty out of the ocean in the shape of the Cālukyas in which it had sunk. He is also represented to have "burnt" the Cālukyas. These also must be allusions to Amoghavarṣa's wars with the Cālukyas of Vengi; and he probably conquered some territory belonging to them.

In the Karda grant the city of Mānyakheta is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital; but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr. Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardha plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattunga is called Nrpatunga; and he is represented to have founded the city of Mānyakheta, which "put the city of the Gods" to shame. Mānyakheta has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's territory.

In the Kanheri caves there are three Inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarṣa. In one of them Pullaśakti of the Śilāhāra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarṣa. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 183, l. 25.

2 Sangli plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

799.¹ An Inscription at Sirur in the Dharwar district published by Dr. Fleet is dated Śaka 788, vyaya, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarṣa;² so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kanheri Inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year vyaya corresponds to the Śaka 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*.

In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurāṇa, or the latter half of the Mahāpurāṇa, by Gunabhadra, Amoghavarṣa is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Gunabhadra, and wrote the Ādipurāṇa or the first part of the same work.⁴ Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pārsvābhyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarṣa may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled Jayadhavalā is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed in the reign of Amoghavarṣa. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Sārasaṃgraha by Virācārya, Amoghavarṣa is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VI, West's copies Nos. 15 and 42, Ibid, Vol. XIII, p. 11, and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is Prajāpati, the current Śaka year corresponding to which however, was 774. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired, i. e. 774 current.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 216.

3 Several copies of this Purāṇa have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarṣa is alluded to is this —

यस्य प्राञ्जुनखाञ्जुजालविसरद्धागन्नराविर्भव-
त्पादाम्भोजरज विशङ्कुकुटप्रत्यग्रत्नद्युतिः ।
संस्मर्ता स्वममोषवर्षवृत्तपतिः पूतोहमथेत्यले
स श्रीमाजिनसेनपुज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarṣa remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust-pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails ;—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world."

as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syādvāda).¹ He is mentioned there also by his other name Nṛpatunga. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled *Prāśnottara-ratnamālikā*, which has been claimed for Samkarācārya and one Samkaraguru by the Brahmans, and for Vimala by the Śvetambaras, is attributed to king Amoghavarṣa by the Digambara Jains. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarṣa composed the *Ratnamālikā* after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit² in him. There is another Amoghavarṣa in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jains. There is a translation of the work in the Tibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarṣa, who is represented as a great king. The Tibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner; but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarṣa.³

From all this it appears that of all the Rāstrakūṭa princes, Amoghavarṣa was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jains; and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarṣa's son and successor was Akālavarṣa. He married the daughter of Kokala, king of Cedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattunga. Akālavarṣa's proper name was Kṛṣṇa as is evident from the Navasari grant and also from the Wardha and the Karda plates. He is the Kṛṣṇarāja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Prthvīrāma made a grant of land to a Jain temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti.⁴ Another

1 This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr. K. B. Pathak.

2 See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, Notes, &c., p. ii. The stanza is

विवेकान्तकगज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।

रक्षितामोषधर्षण सुधियां सङ्गलङ्किते ॥

3 Weber's *Indische Streifen*, Vol. I., p. 210,

4 JBBRAS., Vol. X., p. 200, The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Śaka 797 *past*,

Jaina temple was built by a Vaiśya or Bania named Cikārya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Mulgund in the Dharwar district ; and in the Inscription which records this fact he is styled Kṛṣṇa Vallabha.¹

Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarṣa appears to have been a powerful prince. He is represented as having frightened the Gūrjara, humbled the pride of the Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Āndhra, Kālinga, Gāṅga, and Magadha.²

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purāṇa noticed above, was consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Pingala,⁶ by Lokasena the pupil of Gunadhara, who was the author of the second part. In the historical appendix, " the lofty elephants of Akālavarṣa " are represented " to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumāra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the

1 *Ib.*, p. 192, The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

2 Wardha and Navasari plates, JBBRAS., Vol. XVII pp. 239-269.

अकारवर्षधूपाले पालयन्विलोमिलाम् ।

तस्मिन्निध्वस्तनिःशेषद्विषि वीधयशोजुवि ॥

धर्म उ ८.

* * * *

शक्रवृषकालाभ्यन्तरविंशत्यधिकाष्टशतमिताद्धान्ते ।

मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

* * * *

निष्ठितं मन्व्यवर्षैः

प्राप्तेर्ज्यै शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

" Victorious in the world is this holy Purāṇa, the essence of the Śāstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]* * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Śaka king * * *, while that king Akālavarṣa, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth."

The cyclic year year Pingala corresponded to 820 Saka current.

sun did not penetrate.”¹ The date 833 Śaka has also been assigned to Akālavarṣa.² It will have been seen that an Inscription at Saundatti represents Kṛṣṇarāja to have been the reigning prince in Śaka 797, while one in the Kanheri caves speaks of his father Amoghavarṣa as being on the throne two years later, i. e., in 799. This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratna-mālikā that the latter had abdicated the throne in his old age. The real reigning prince therefore in Śaka 797 and 799 must have been Akālavarṣa his son; but the writer of the Kanheri Inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarṣa's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes.

Akālavarṣa's son was Jagattunga. But he did not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Kharepatan grant, after Akālavarṣa, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akālavarṣa's grandson, while Jagattunga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasari grant Indra is represented as “ meditating on the feet ” of Akālavarṣa, and not of Jagattunga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akālavarṣa. But the Wardha grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattunga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having ascended the throne. Jagattunga married Lakṣmī, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Rana-vigraha in the Sangali and Navasari grants, and Śamkaragana in the Karda plates. But it will be presently shown that the Karda plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarṣa according to the Navasari grant; and his son Govinda IV is in the Sangali grant spoken of as “ meditating on the feet ” of Nityavarṣa, which also shows, that that was Indra's title.

1

यस्योक्तुक्कमन्तंगजा निजमद्वलानस्त्रिनीसंगमा-
 द्वाङ्ग वाणि कलाङ्कितं कदु मुहु शिवाभ्यगच्छदृष ।
 कौमारं वनचन्दन वनमपापत्युस्त/क्वाभिले-
 मन्वावोलिनमस्तमास्करकच्छाय समाशिषियन् ॥

† Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 109.

13 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

Nityavarsa is the donor in the Navasari grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mānyakheta, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kadoda on the banks of the Tāpi, for his Pattabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasari grant is Tenna situated in the Lāta country. It has been identified with Tena in the Navasari division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in Śaka 836; so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year. Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasari district records the grant of the village of Gumra (identified with the modern Bagumra) by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents *mutatis mutandis* are exactly the same.¹

From these grants of villages in the Navasari district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lāta, and from the statement in the Wardha plates that Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarṣa humbled the pride of the Lata prince, it appears that the main branch of the Rāstrakūtas reigning at Mānyakheta must have, in Akālavarṣa's time, supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarat, which had been founded in the time of Jagatruṅga or Govinda III. Indra was the reigning monarch in Śaka 838, the cyclic year being Dhātu, as appears from an Inscription published by Dr. Fleet.²

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karda plates. The Sangali grant, however, is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Cedi again. Her name was Vijāmbā;³ and she was the daughter of Anṇanadeva, the son of

1 JBB.RAS, Vol. XVII, p. 261f.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 224.

3 Dr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sangali grant calls her Dvijāmbā, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijāmbā in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijāmbā is Vidyāmbā, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 250.

Ārjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sangali grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Kharepatan grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named Amoghavarṣa.¹ The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarṣa, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Karda plates also. Amoghavarṣa and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Ambā, who is the same as the Vijāmbā of the Sangali plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Ambā form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindāmbā, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop king Govinda altogether.² But the Wardha grant is explicit on the point. From it we learn that Amoghavarṣa was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him", and then Govinda came to the throne. The Sangali grant of Govinda IV, as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarṣa by name; but states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of impurity, but became Sāhasāṅka by his matchless enterprise and liberty." What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say. But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death, and the other accusations referred to were whispered against him; and this is intended as a defence.

1 Dr. Fleet in his genealogical table at p. 109, Vol. XI, 1st ed. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghavarṣa in the Kharepatan grant, and also in that of Karda, if properly understood.

2 The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is .

देयां मातुलजीकरगणात्मजायामधुजगन्नुद्धात् । श्रीमानमोघवर्षां गाविन्द्राभ्यभिधानार्या ॥ Now the first line of this is, as it stands, out of place and must contain some mistakes. For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Ambā a wife of Jagattuṅga along with Laksmī, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Laksmī's sister, the father of both being Śaṅkaragaṇa. But Ambā or Vijāmbā is in

The Kharepatan and Wardha grants agree in representing Govinda as a prince addicted to sensual pleasures. The former says that he was "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and was always surrounded by crowds of beautiful women," and the latter, that he was "the source of the sportive pleasures of Love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and his health being undermined, he met with an untimely death." The words used have double senses from which it would appear that the affairs of the state also fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. But the Sangali grant which was issued by him has of course nothing but praise for him. Govinda's other names were Prabhū-tavarsa and Suvarnavarsa (raining gold) and probably Sāhasānka also. The grant was issued in Śaka 855, or A. D. 933, in the Vijaya¹ year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mānya-

the Sangali grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Anganadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Ranavighraha, the father of Lakṣmī; that is, Ambā was the daughter of Lakṣmī's first cousin. She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. Again, if we take the lines as they are, the result will be that the Karda grant makes no mention of 'ndra's wife Vijāmbā and of his sons Amoghavarṣa and Govinda IV, the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sangali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattunga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindāmbā. And the second line श्रीमानमोक्षर्षी गोविन्दाम्बामिधानायाम् looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarṣa and of their mother Ambā or Vijāmbā. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV, who, as noticed in the text below, was called Suvarnavarsa by people because he "rained down gold." The name of the prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, i.e., Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sangali grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्द्री for न्द्रा and then Ambā would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Karda grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here, as also after the next stanza, where Kṛṣṇarāja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

1 The current Śaka year was 856,

kheta. Govinda IV was on the throne in Śaka 841, as appears from an Inscription published by Dr. Fleet, in which under the name of Prabhūtavarṣa he is represented as the reigning sovereign.¹ The Inscription, however, is dated 840 Śaka; but from the cyclic year Pramāthin, which is also given, it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Śaka. It will appear from this that Indra or Nityavarṣa, who succeeded his grandfather in Śaka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarṣa, could have been on the throne only for a few months. Govinda IV, like Amoghavarṣa I, was at war with the Cālukyas of Vengi.² Another Inscription represents Govinda IV as the reigning monarch in Śaka 851.³

From the Kharepatan plates it appears that Govinda IV was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattuṅga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarāja, and after his death his younger brother Khotṭka become king. The Karda grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan. It states: "When the elder brother Kṛṣṇarājadeva went to heaven, Khotṭigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarṣa on Kanda-kadevi, the daughter of Yuvarāja, become king."⁴ Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khotṭigadeva and not to the preceding king,⁵ whoever he may have been.

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 222. Dr. Fleet however identifies this Prabhūta-varṣa with Jagattuṅga the son of Akṣavarṣa or Kṛṣṇa II and father of Nityavarṣa. But as we have seen, Nityavarṣa was on the throne in Śaka 836 and 838, wherefore his father could not have been the reigning prince in Śaka 840 or 841. Besides, as I have shown, Jagattuṅga did not ascend the throne at all.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS for 1883-84, p. 48.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249.

4
 देवप्रवृत्तिर्गणेशेव स्वर्गमधिरुढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कुण्डलराजदेवे
 दुष्टराजदेवकुडितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोवर्षदुष्टा-
 उज्जालः कोट्टिमदेवो नृपतिरधुनधुवनविख्यात ॥ १५ ॥

5 For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza, and the subject of which is Khotṭigadeva. See the passage in the last note.

Khotika therefore was even according to the Karda grant, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇarāja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarṣa, while Kṛṣṇarāja is spoken of in the Kharepatan plates as the son of Baddiga. In an Inscription at Salotgi, Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Amoghavarṣa, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakheta in 867 Śaka,¹ that is, twelve years after the Sangali grant of Govinda IV was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Kṛṣṇa of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time. Hence his son Kṛṣṇa came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant; and there is no other Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Śaka. If, then, the Kṛṣṇa of the grants is the same as the Kṛṣṇa of the Salotgi Inscription here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarṣa; so that the Baddiga of the Kharepatan plates was the same as the Amoghavarṣa of the Karda plates. Kṛṣṇarāja and Khotika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Karda plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.²

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. I, p 205 f. The cyclic year given is Plavanga, which followed next after Śaka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870. According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavanga in a part of the year 867 Śaka expired.

2 Dr. Fleet, following Mr Wathen's translation, makes Kṛṣṇa, whom he calls Kṛṣṇa III, the elder brother of Amoghavarṣa and thus a son of Jagattunga. But in the Kharepatan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattunga, and in the Wardha plates, as the son of Amoghavarṣa, the son of Jagattunga, and was thus a grandson of Jagattunga. He is also represented as Khotika's elder brother. I have shown in the text that the expression "elder brother", occurring in the Karda grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khotiga and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan. The Amoghavarṣa who was the son of Jagattunga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Karda grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indra and nephew of that Amoghavarṣa, as I have shown above. Dr. Fleet brings in another Kṛṣṇa and makes him the younger brother of Khotika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) and with

And these points have been placed beyond the possibility of doubt by the Wardha grant. After Govinda's death, we are told, the feudatory chiefs entreated Amoghavarsa the son of Jagattunga, who was "first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Kṛṣṇa, who, though but a crown-prince, wielded very great

the Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from Śaka 867 to 878. What his authority is I do not know. But the Kharepatan grant mentions one Kṛṣṇa only, the elder brother of Khotika and son of Baddiga. The Karda also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes, I have shown that that grant agrees with the Kharepatan plates. The Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 867 to 878 is to be identified with the elder brother of Khotika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants. Nirupama, the younger brother of Khotika, is not and cannot have been this Kṛṣṇa, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khotika was called Kṛṣṇa, and he too could not have been called by the same name. Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Karda plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Kakka, who was a reigning prince, and in the Kharepatan grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakka is said to be the son of the brother of Khotika. Kṛṣṇa, on the other hand, was on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka according to the stone Inscriptions. Again if Khotika was the elder brother of this Nirupama-Kṛṣṇa it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Śaka, while Kṛṣṇa should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka, that is, before his elder brother. Kṛṣṇa, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Kharepatan grant, and Khotika the younger. Dr. Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates:—"Kottiga or Khottiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his Inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Kṛṣṇa IV, viz., there being no probability of Kottiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛṣṇa IV was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kakka III"—(Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255). This supposition is not supported by any circumstance, on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the Inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa which represent him to be the "Supreme king of great kings," (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 258), and to have been reigning at the time at Mānyakheṭa and governing the kingdom (Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 210). Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as Yuvarāja. Thus there were not two Kṛṣṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsa, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardha grant, i. e., 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yaśastilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Salotgi and other stone Inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873 and 878 Śaka. Khotiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest,

power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished; he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gāṅga prince; and planted what appears to be a colony of the Āryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the South, the Gūrjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālanjara and Citrakūta in the North, had to give up the enterprize. All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himālaya and Simhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne. The Wardha plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nagpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Kṛṣṇarāja, who is also called Akālavarṣa, in the name of his brother Jagattunga to a Brahman of the Kāṇva school of the white Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Śaka 862, corresponding to 940 A. D., the cyclic year being Śārvari. This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant.

Kṛṣṇarāja was the reigning monarch in Śaka 873 and 878.¹ At the end of a Jaina work called Yaśastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Caitra when 881 years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhārthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarājadeva. Kṛṣṇarājadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pāṇdyas, Simhala, the Colas, the Ceras and others.² Khotika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 Prajāpati.³

Khotika was succeeded, according to the Kharepatan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama, according to the Karda grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Cālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Deccan passed from the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas once more into those of the Cālukyas. The Karda grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Śaka 894 or A. D. 972. And another Inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 257, and Vol. XI, p. 100.

² Prof. Peterson's Report, loc. cit.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255.

current,¹ the cyclic year being Śrīmukha. But in this year or Śaka 895 past Tailapa attained sovereign powers.² The Rāstrakūṭas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A. D. 748 to A. D. 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Elura still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Purāṇic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them, we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Several of the grants of these Rāstrakūṭa princes praise their bounty, and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kanheri Inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarṣa I show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Cālukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarṣa was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it; and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Cālukya princes, those of the Rāstrakūṭas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Rāstrakūṭas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Kṛṣṇas belonging to

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

2 The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates is Aṅgirās, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 895.

14 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halāyudha entitled the *Kavirahasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.¹ Prof. Westergaard, however, thought him to be the *Kṛṣṇarāja* of the Vijayanagara dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirahasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the *Rāstrakūṭa* race,"² and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race,"³ which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagara prince.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of *Balharā*s who ruled at a place called *Mankir*. The name of the city would show that the *Rāstrakūṭas*, whose capital was *Mānyakheta* or *Mankhed*, were meant. But *Balharā*, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the *Rāstrakūṭas*. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The *Rāstrakūṭas* appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the *Calukyas*. We have seen that *Govinda II* is called *Vallabha* in two grants, *Amoghavarṇa I* in a third, and *Kṛṣṇa III* in a fourth. In an inscription on a stone tablet at *Lakṣmeśvara*, *Govinda III* is called *Śrī-Vallabha*,⁴ while

1 अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापथित्रे कक्षिणापथे ।

कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

"In *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage *Agastya*, there was a king of the name of *Kṛṣṇarāja* who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

2 नीलयत्युल्लं शक्त्या यो भारं धुषयेध्वरः ।

कलं तुलयति स्थान्ना गङ्गाद्वकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the *Rāstrakūṭa* race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden."

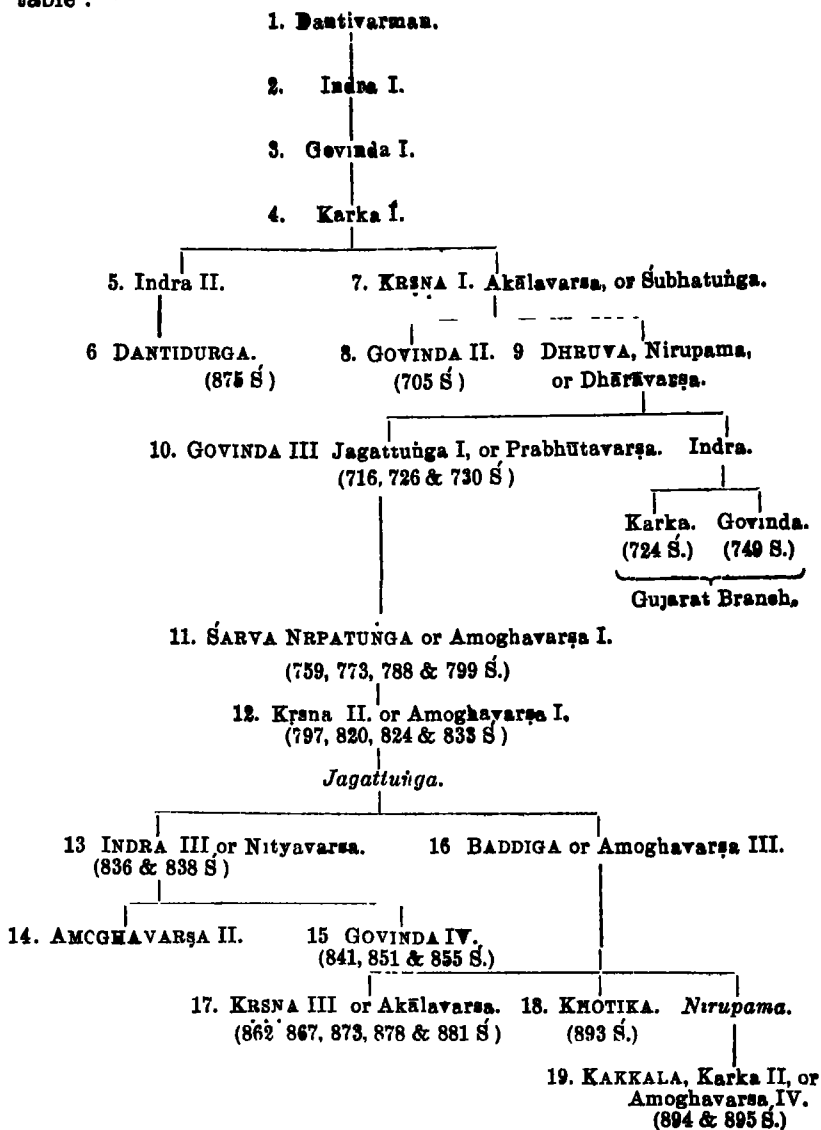
3 सोमं ह्रुनोति यजेतु सोमवैश्विभूषणः ।

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of *Soma* in sacrifices."

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 156.

in the Radhanpur plates he is spoken of as Vallabha-narendra. In the Sangali and Kardag grants also the reigning king is styled Vallabha-narendra, while in other Inscriptions we find the title Pṛthivivallabha alone used. Now Vallabha-narendra means "the king Vallabha," and is the same as Vallabharāja, the words rāja(n) and narendra both denoting "a king". Vallabha-rāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or vernacular pronunciation, become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaba-rāy, or Balha-rāy. This last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabs.

The genealogy of the Rāstrakūṭas is shown in the following table :—



- The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Deccan are printed in capitals.
- The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.
- The order of succession is represented by the numbers.
- The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all, have been printed in Italics.

SECTION XII.

THE LATER CĀLUKYAS.

We left the history of the kings of the Cālukya race at Kirtivarman II. Between him and Tailapa—who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Deccan from Kakkala, the last of the Rāstrakūta kings—the Miraj copperplate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kirtivarman ascended the throne in Śaka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 Śaka.¹ We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, i. e., for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much.

This was the darkest period in the history of the Cālukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept. Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was, cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, viz., Inscriptions. There must have been several branches of the Cālukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct. For, the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hārīti, and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavya race; while these later Cālukyas traced their pedigree to Satyāśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their Inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Cālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them.

¹ JEAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 735 found in Mysore a Cālukya prince of the name of Vimalāditya, the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III, the Rāstrakūṭa king, at the request of Cākirāja of the Gaṅga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalāditya.¹ These three Cālukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch.

Another independent off-shoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dharwar. In the Kanarese Bhārata written in 863 Śaka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arikesarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows:—

Yuddhamalla
|
Arikesarin
|
Narasimha
|
Dugdhamalla
|
Baddiga
|
Yuddhamalla
|
Narasimha
|
Arikesarin

At the end of a work entitled Samksepasārīraka, the author Sarvajñātman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Śaṅkarācārya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kṣatriya race, the Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."² This description would apply with propriety to

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 2.

such a king as Ādityavarman, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, or Vikramāditya II of the early Calukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Ādityas of the race of Manu." For the Mānavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu." But Śaṅkarācārya is said to have lived between Śaka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramāditya II, the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Śaka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Śaṅkarācārya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñātman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa. He may be Vikramāditya, the third prince after Kirtivarman II,¹ but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Śaṅkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Calukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Colas² and humbled the king of Cedi.³ He despatched an expedition into Gujarat, under a general of the name of Bārapa, against Mūlasāja, the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anahilapatana, who for some time was hard pressed; but according to the Gujarat chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter.⁴ Someśvara, the author of the Kirtikaumudī, speaks of Bārapa as the general of the Lāta, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country.⁵

Tailapa invaded Malwa also, which at this time was governed by Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrāditya, crossed the

एके सज्जनबुद्धिबर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये धुर्यं शासति ॥

The Deveśvara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkarācārya.

1 See the genealogy at the end of this Section.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 17.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 15.

4 Rāsa Malā, Chap. IV, p. 38, new Ed.

5 Kirtikaumudī, II. 3.

Godāvari with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner. At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor; but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.¹ This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's Inscriptions.² Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.³ One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundatti⁴ in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Śaka or A. D. 980.

Tailapa married Jākabbā, the daughter of the last Rāstrakūta king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyāśraya and Daśavarman.⁵ The former succeeded him in 919 Śaka or A. D. 997. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the Inscriptions. The Kharepatan grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Śaka 930 by a dependent chief of the Śilāhāra family which ruled over southern Konkan.⁶

Satyāśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I,⁷ the son of his younger brother Daśavarman by his wife Bhagavati. The earliest of his Inscriptions is dated Śaka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, i. e., in 1008 A. D., and appears to have reigned for only a short time.⁸

He was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha or Jagadekamalla, who in an Inscription dated 941 Śaka, i. e., 1019 A. D., is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Malwa and is styled "the moon of the

1 Merutuṅga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacaritra by Rājavallabha.

2 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 12, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 168.

3 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 210.

5 Miraj plates, JRAS, Vol. III, p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 15-17.

6 JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 209.

7 I call him Vikramāditya I, and not Vikramāditya V, as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above. I shall call Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II, and so on.

8 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.¹ He is also spoken of as having beaten the Colas and the Ceras. The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, i. e., in Śaka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Cola, the lord of the Dramila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at Kolhapur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."² The latest date of this prince is Śaka 962.⁴

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 Śaka, or 1040 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Someśvara I, who assumed the titles of Ahavamalla and Trailokyamalla. As usual with the Cālukya princes, the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Colas.⁴ He is then represented by Bilhana to have marched against Dhārā, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Malwa seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacaritra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Deccan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him.⁵ Bhoja, who ruled over Malwa for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died.

Muñja was on the throne in 994 A. D.,⁶ while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A. D. He must therefore have been slain

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 17.

2 Loc. cit. Dramila is another form of Draviḍa. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are चं चंद्रमिल्लधिपतिं. Dr. Fleet takes चं as one word and चंद्रमिल्लधिपतिं as another, but चं cannot be construed and Chandramilla is unknown. The first word must be च-च, a mistake for some such word as च-च, "down," "below," and the second Dramilādhipatim.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 164.

4 Bilhana's Vikramāṅka Caritra, I, 90, JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 13.

5 Bhojacaritra, I. 50-56.

6 My Report on the search for MSS. during 1882-83, p. 45.

15 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

by the latter between 994 and 997 A. D., and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasimha and Someśvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacaritra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Malwa formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Cālukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramāditya I, of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probable on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the Inscription dated 941 Śaka.

After some time Someśvara attacked Cedi or Dāhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karna¹. King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karna had formed a confederacy with Bhimadeva I of Gujarat with a view to attack Malwa from two sides, and sacked Dhārā after his death.² Bilhana next represents the Cālukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, probably the western. These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula. In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravidas or Colas attacked him, but was defeated. Someśvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kāñol, which he captured, and the Cola king had to flee away to save his life.³ Āhavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Colas are alluded to in an Inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kānyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.⁴

Āhavamalla or Someśvara founded the city of Kalyāṇa and made it his capital. Bilhana mentions the fact,⁵ and the name of

1 Bilhana's Vikr., I, 102-103.

2 Merutuṅga's Bhojaprabandha; Rāsa Mālā, VI, p. 69, new Ed.

3 Vikr. Ca., I, 107-116.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol VIII, p. 19.

5 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., II, 1. The natural construction appears to be to take उत्तम "most excellent" as an attributive adjective, not predicative, and take कृत as the predicate. The sense then will be, "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyāṇa."

the city does not occur in any Inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Someśvara was reigning.¹ In the course of time three sons were born to Āhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramāditya, and the third Jayasimha.² The ablest of these was Vikramāditya, and Āhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of Yuvarāja or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhana tells us he declined the honour.³ Someśvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles.

The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Colas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Malwa, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.⁴ Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauda country or Bengal and Kāmārūpa or Assam.⁵ In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.⁶ The king of Sinhala submitted to him at his approach;⁷ then he took the city of Gangakunda and proceeded to the country of the Colas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramāditya then entered Kāñci and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Veṅgi, and to Cakrakota.⁸

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he

1 See Dr. Fleet's remarks on the point, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 105. The word Kalyāṇa occurring in the Salotgi Inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 210) is also, like that in Kirtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr. Pandit and Dr. Bühler have done.

2 Bilhana's *Vikr. Ca.*, II, 57-58 and 86; III 1, 25.

3 *Ib.*, III, 26-32, 35-41, and 48-54.

4 *Ib.*, III, 55-67.

5 *Ib.*, III, 74.

6 *Ib.*, IV, 2, 18.

7 *Ib.*, IV, 20.

8 *Ib.*, IV, 21-30. For the situation of Veṅgi, see *supra*, Section X.

caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tungabhadra. He bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.¹ This event must have taken place in Śaka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.² Āhavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.³ On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them.⁴

Someśvara, the eldest son of Āhavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla. Vikramāditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Vengi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramāditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers. But Someśvara was a weak and tyrannical prince. He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection. He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men; and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence. Vikramāditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasimha and a large army.⁵ Someśvara II sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramāditya with great slaughter.⁶

The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Colas. On the way he stopped at Banavāsī, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya. Jayakesi is repre-

1 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca. IV, 46-68. This mode of death is known by the name of Jalasamādhi.

2 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4

3 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., I, 97-99. IV, 52.

4 Ib., I, 88.

5 Ib., IV, 88-119. V, I.

6 Ib., V, 5-8.

sented to have submitted to Vikramāditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies." ¹ Jayakesi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who, in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr. Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Cālukya and Cola kings, and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramāditya or Tribhuvana-malla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahādevī in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakesi; and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Deccan raised the dignity of the family. ²

The king of the Alupas ³ also rendered his obeisance to the Cālukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabar, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Colas. Being informed of this, the Cola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Cola he fell back on the Tungabhadra, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance. ⁴

Some time after, the king of the Colas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Cālukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kāñci, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure. A short time after his return to the Tungabhadra, however, Rājiga, the king of Vengi, observing that the nobility of the Cola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramāditya and prevent his descent on Kāñci, Rājiga incited his brother Someśvara II to attack him from behind. Vikramāditya, however,

¹ Ib., V, 10. 18-25.

² JBBRAS, Vol. IX, pp. 242, 268, 279.

³ See supra, Section X.

⁴ Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., V. 26-29, 46 56, 60, 73, 79-89,

marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Draviḍa forces, Someśvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.¹ Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Someśvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulation, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow.² But Vikramāditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued. Vikramāditya proved victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner. The Cālukya prince then returned to the Tungabhadra, and after some hesitation dethroned Someśvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasinha he assigned the province of Banavāsī.³ These events took place in the cyclic year Nala, Śaka 998, or A.D. 1076.⁴

Vikramāditya II then entered Kalyāna and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.⁵ He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Paramardirāya also. He abolished the Śaka era and established his own; but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahātaka or Karhad and married the daughter of the Śilāhāra king who reign-

¹ *Ib.*, VI, 7-51.

² *Ib.*, VI, 56-61.

³ *Ib.*, VI, 90-98, 98-99.

⁴ *JRAS*, Vol. IV, p. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 189. The current Śaka year was 999. Dr. Fleet thinks that the festival of his Paṭṭabandha or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the Nala year, in an Inscription at Vādageri, was the annual festival. But this is a mere assumption. One would expect in such a case the word *vārṣikotsava*. The utsava or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony. The date in this Inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place. All we can gather from this Inscription and that at Araleśvara is that the Nala Śathavatsara was the first year of his reign.

⁵ *JRAS*, Vol. IV, p. 14.

ed at the place. Her name was Candralekhā and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhana represents her to have held a Svayamvara where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Cālukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck. Whether the Svayamvara was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide. Candralekhā is spoken of in the Inscriptions as Candaladevi, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her. The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.¹

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavāsi, began to meditate treason against him. He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Dravida king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramāditya's troops. When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail; and in a short time Jayasimha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Kṛsnā. He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners, and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama.² The king then marched against him at the head of his forces. As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks.³ He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong. Then a battle ensued. At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama. All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards; but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left. The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers. The army was defeated and Jayasimha and his followers fled away. Vikrama did not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses,

1 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15, and Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., VIII—XI.

2 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca. XIV, 1-13, 18, 49-56,

3 *ib.*, XIV, 57, 70, 71,

women, and baggage left on the battle-field, and returned to his capital. After a time Jayasimha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramāditya, who, however is represented to have pardoned him ¹

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign, his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yādava family reigning at Dvārāsānūdra, the modern Halebid in Mysore; and with him were associated the kings of the Pāndya country, Goa, and Konkan. This Hoysala prince must have been Visnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballāla and the grandson of Vinayāditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For, in the Inscription of Vira Ballāla, the grandson of Visnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Visnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital and Belvola and washed his horses with the waters of the Kṛṣṇa-Venā. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramāditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"² Vikramāditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Āca or Ācagi, whose territory lay to the south. Āca, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lakṣma in war, valorously followed after Pāndya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."³ Āca must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gūrjara, Mālava, Cera, and Cola (subject) to his sovereign."⁴ Vikramāditya himself had to take the field against the Cola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital.⁵

1 *Ib.*, XV, 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85-87.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol II, p 300. Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated — दृष्टेयु असाध्यतया ह्यस्त्रक्ष अवधारय इति परमविद्वेषनुपते. प्रत्युपचारं य. नियुक्तेः ब्रह्म स्मार्यते ।

3 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 244. Poysala and Hoysala are one and the same word.

4 *Ib.*, p. 269.

5 *Bilhana's Vikr. Ca.*, XVII, 43-68.

Vikramāditya II constructed a large temple of Visnu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikrama pura.¹ He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture."² That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kāśmīrian Pandit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyāpati or chief Pandit. Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Maratha country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya and lived at Kalyāna. At the end of most Manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows ³ :

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyāna; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramārka seen or heard of; and—what more?—Vijñāneśvara, the Pandit, does not bear comparison with any other ⁴ (person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper¹ exist to the end of the Kalpa !

1 *Ib.*, XVII, 15, 22, 29, and *JRAS*, Vol. IV, p. 15.

2 Bilhana's *Vikr. Ca.*, XVII, 6, 36-37.

3 See Dr. Bühler's article on the subject in *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 134.

4 Dr. Bühler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यद्-
स्योपमां कल्पस्य स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयम् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्य
with किं चान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears
comparison with the learned Vijñāneśvara." To mean "nothing else,"
किं चान्यत् must be किमप्यन्यत्; and in this construction पण्डितो, the nomina-
tive, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते.
Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears
comparison," &c., for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away, the
other half still remains, and what it will produce but has not yet produced,
cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्य or "existing in the Kalpa." The only
proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed

" May the Lord of wisdom² live as long as the sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey, and then which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,³ contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body.

" May the lord Vikramāditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves⁴ of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean."

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis, and as mere conventionalities, still the language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler,

edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किंवा नवस्योपमाकल्पी. Instead of किं, there must be वा here. And this is the reading of a Manuscript of the Mitākṣarā, dated Samvat 1535 and Śaka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

1 Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

2 Dr. Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my Manuscript have विज्ञाननाथ the nominative. Instead of तत्र the former has तत्र and the latter तत्र, I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Viṇṇāneśvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the object तत्र or "truth," the whole meaning "the lord of the knowledge of truth".

3 Dr. Bühler's reading here is दानार्थानामतिशययुजाभर्षिसार्थार्थनायाः. Here अर्थनायाः cannot make any sense, it ought to be अर्थिताया, which the lithographed edition and my Manuscript have. The latter reads the whole line thus :— दानार्थानामतिशययुजाभर्षिसार्थार्थिता(ना)याः []. There is another या after this, which is redundant.

4 The reading of the epithet of the " Western Ocean " is corrupt in all the three. I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चटुलतिमिकुलोनुक्तरिगंतंगात् to चटुलतिमिकुलोनुक्तरिक्तरक्तात् and of my Manuscript to तुक्तरन्यनरक्तात्. The root रिक् is used in connection with waves (see B. & R.'s Lexicon *sub voce*).

and the great Pandita, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramāditya's Inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Cālukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Vikramāditya II was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclic year Parābhava (A. D. 1127) by his son Someśvara III, who assumed the title of Bhūlokamalla.¹ He had a short reign of about 11 years. He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Āndhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nepāḷa; and to have been lauded by all learned men."² This last praise does not seem to be undeserved; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Someśvara entitled Mānasollāsa or Abhilasitārtha-Cintāmani, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given. The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure; and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven angas, i. e., the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields

1 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to Parābhava was 1049.

2 JBRAS, Vol. XI, p. 268

or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of Sarvajñabhūpa¹ or the "all-knowing king." In the Mānasollāsa, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the month of Caitra, one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being Saumya, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Calukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,² and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth."³ This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Someśvara III or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year Kālayukti,⁴ Śaka 1060 or A. D. 1138, by his son Jagadeka-

1 Ib., pp. 259 and 268.

2 That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

3 एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शरदा गते ।
शकस्य सोमधुपाले सति बालुङ्गमण्डने ॥
समुद्रस्तनाद्युर्वी शासति क्षनविद्विषि ।
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपाथेधिकलशोद्वेगे ॥
सौम्यसंबन्धे चैत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।
परिशोधितसिद्धान्तलब्ध्या स्युर्धुषका इमे ॥

4 The Siddhārthin Samvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding Kālayukti (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 141. There are several Inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasīrha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Jayasīrha began to reign in Śaka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II, and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

mallā. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II, Nirmaḍi Taila or Trailokyamallā, in Śaka 1072, Pramoda Samvatsara.¹

During these two reigns the power of the Čālukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalacuri race, who held the office of Daṇḍanāyaka or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs. Vijayārka, the Mahāmandaleśvara of Kolhapur, was one of those who assisted him,² and Prolarāja of the Kākateya dynasty of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.³ He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyāna and fled to Annigeri in the Dharwar district, which now became the capital of his kingdom, greatly reduced in extent. There is an Inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjana's name, the cyclic year being Īśvara; and the next Samvatsara, Bahudhānya, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.⁴ He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Śaka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II, who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavāsī.⁵ The latest year of his reign mentioned in the Inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being Pārthiva, which was current next after Śaka 1087.⁶

1 For the Yuva Samvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077. In Pramoda, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired; Pali, Sans. and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

2 Grant of Bhoja II of Kolhapur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc. Vol. III. See Section XVI.

3 He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Čālukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva; Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp., 12-13, lines 27-30.

4 P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.

5 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 16.

6 P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.

For some time there was an interruption in the Cālukya power, and the Kalacuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata creed and the assassination of Vijjāna considerably weakened the power of the Kalacuris, and about the Śaka year 1104, Someśvara, the son of Nurmadi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power, to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one.¹ Bomma is represented in an Inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalacuris and restored the Cālukyas to the throne.² But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vira Ballāla, and of the north, under Bhīllama. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vira Ballāla, who subdued the Cālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.³ We lose trace of Vira Soma or Someśvara IV after Śaka 1111.

The Cālukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1182, Raudra Samvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District.⁴ The donor Keśava Mahājani was the minister of a Mahāmandaleśvara or chief of the name of Kāṁbvadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Cālukya race." He is also called Kalyāṇapuravarādhiśvara "Lord of Kalyāṇa the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs⁵ simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyāṇa. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravāṭaka,

1 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 16; Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300, l. 29.

2 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 16.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300, ll. 29-30.

4 Published in JRAS, Vol. V, in JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 105, and Memoir, Savantwadi State, Govt. Rec. No. X.

5 S^o Infra, Section XVI.

identified with Teravan itself, from which it would appear that Kāmvaḍeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an Inscription in the temple of Ambābāi at Kolhapur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Cālukya family and reigned at Saṃgameśvara, which is twelve kośas to the north-east of Ratnagiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karnadeva.¹ Probably the Kāmvaḍeva of the Teravan grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Maratha families of the name of Chālke reduced to poverty in the Saṃgameśvara Taluka or in the vicinity.

¹ JEBBAS, Vol. II, p. 263.

SECTION XIII.

THE KALACURIS.

THE earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Mangaliśa of the early Cālukya dynasty. Vinayāditya is represented in one of his Inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas; and Vikramāditya II married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.¹ The later Rāstrakūta princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalacuri or Kulacuri² ruled over Cedi or the country about Jabbalpore. The Kalacuris of Kalyāna must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjana was Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara or "Lord of the best city of Kālañjara."³ Kālañjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Cedi⁴ and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyāna branch of the Kalacuris with the Cedi family. This branch was founded by Kṛṣṇa, who in the Belgaum grant⁵ is spoken of as "another Kṛṣṇa," the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin.

Paramardin was the father of Vijjana. Vijjana before his usurpation called himself only a Mahāmandaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III⁶. The manner in which he drove away Taila III from Kalyāna, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state, gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described. But

1 Supra, Section X.

2 See grant published in Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 330, No. 50.

4 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., XVIII, p. 93. Karṇa seems to be represented here to have conquered Kālañjara.

5 JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p. 270.

6 Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. 119.

soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyāna, and Vijjana and his family succumbed to it.

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese entitled *Basava Purāna* gives an account of Basava; but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical. On the other hand there is another work entitled *Vijjalāyacarita*, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the *Liṅgāyatas* were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies.

Basava was the son of a Brahman named Mādirāja, who lived at Bagevadi in the Kaladgi district. Baladeva, the prime minister of Vijjana, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.¹ After Baladeva's death the king appointed Basava his prime minister as being closely related to Baladeva.² The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress³; and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story; for the *Basava Purāna* narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nīlalocanā in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.⁴ Basava had another sister named Nāgalāmbikā, who had a son named Cenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Śiva, in which the Linga and the Nandin or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjana had another minister named Mañcannā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of

1 *Basava Purāṇa*, JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 67

2 JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 69.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 97. Sir W. Elliot's paper, JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 20.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 70.

his rival's embezzlements.¹ In the course of time Vijjana was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjana advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalyāna and re-instated in his office.² There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time, the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purāna.

At Kalyāna there were two pious Lingāyatas named Halleyaga and Madhuveyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava. Vijjana, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out. All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyāna and left the town. Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommaya, went straight to the palace of the king; and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjana. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons, proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed. Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants; the race of Vijjana was extinct, Kalyāna was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Saṃgamēśvara, situated on the confluence of the Mala-prabhā with the Kṛṣṇā, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.³

¹ Ibid., pp. 78 and 89.

² JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 21; JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 89.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 96, Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, pp. 309-310.

The account given by the Jainas is different. Vijjana had gone on an expedition to Kolhapur to reduce the Śilāhāra chief Bhoja II to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital, he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhīmā, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a Jangama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit. Vijjana, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest; and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless. His son Immadi Vijjana and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vijjana, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while; and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Vijjana gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed.¹ On hearing of this, Basava fled; and being pursued went to the Malabar coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.² The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nīlāmbā put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vijjana's son was pacified, Cenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.³ He now became the sole leader of the Lingāyatas; but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the Pranava or sacred syllable Om is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vira Śaiva faith to Basava,⁴ and, according to the Cenna-Basava Purāṇa, "Cenna-Basava was Śiva; Basava, Vrsabha (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin); Bijjala, the door-keeper; Kalyāṇa, Kailāsa; (and) Śiva worshippers (or Lingāyatas), the Śiva host (or the troops of Śiva's attendants)."⁵

Vijjana's death took place in Śaka 1089 (1090 current), or A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Someśvara. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was

¹ Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p. 320.

² JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 22.

³ Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p. 320.

⁴ Ibid., p. 311.

⁵ JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 127.

issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika in Śaka 1096, the cyclic year being Jaya, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brahmans and the god Someśvara made by one of his queens named Bāvaladevi. The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang, on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall.

Soma reigned till Śaka 1100 and was followed by his brother Samkama, whose Inscriptions come down to the cyclic year Subhakrt. In an Inscription at Balagārove, the cyclic year Vikārin (Ś 1101) is called the third of his reign,¹ while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.² In other Inscriptions we have two names Samkama and Āhavamalla, and the cyclic years Śārvarin (Ś. 1102) and Plava (S. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and Śubhakrt (Ś. 1104) as the eighth.³

About Saka 1104 the Cālukya prince Someśvara IV wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalacuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yādavas; so that about this time the Kalacuri dynasty became extinct.

During the period occupied by the later Cālukya dynasty and the Kalacuris (Śaka 895-1110 or A. D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II, in the cyclic year Yuvan, and the nineteenth of his era (Śaka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhistic Vihāra or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dharwar District, and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another Vihāra at Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.⁴ In Śaka 1032 the Śilāhāra

1 Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ins. No. 183.

2 Ibid. No. 189

3 Ibid. Nos 190, 192 and 193.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 185.

chief of Kolhapur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support¹

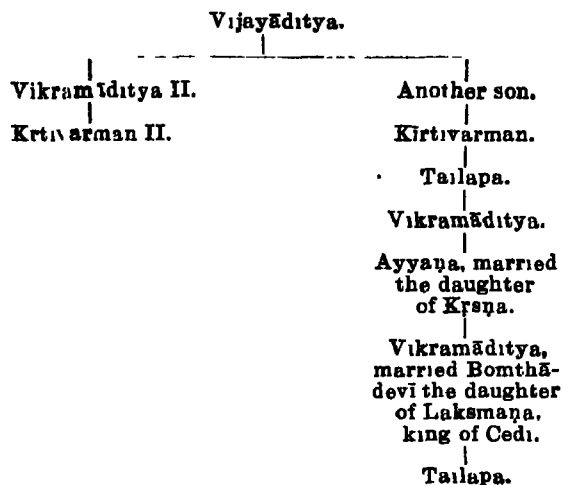
Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end, received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingāyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brahmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

The worship of the Purānic gods flourished; and, as in the times of the early Cālukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brahmins and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smṛtis and Purānas; and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. Nibandhas or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smṛtis. Bhoja of Dhārā, who belongs to the first part of this period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhāreśvara he is referred to by Viṇṇāneśvara in his work. He was followed by Viṇṇāneśvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyāna in the reign of Vikramāditya II. Aparārka, another commentator on Yājñavalkya, who calls his work a Nibandha on the Dharmaśāstra or Institutes of Yājñavalkya, was a prince of the Śilāhāra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Śaka 1109 (A. D. 1187) and in the cyclic year Parābhava². Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemādri, and by Sāyana in the fourteenth

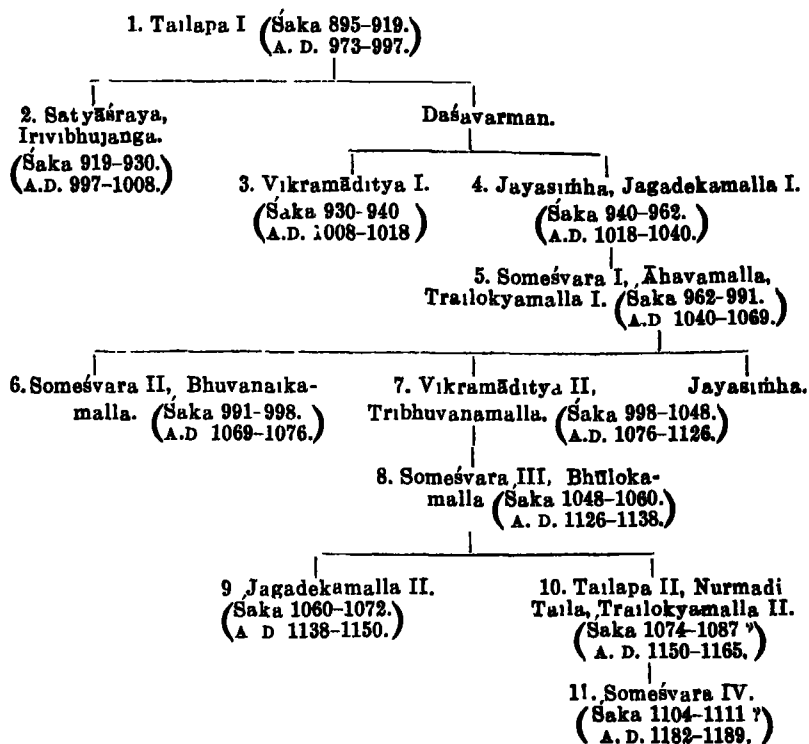
1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 4, and *infra*, Section XVI.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, pp. 334-335.

Genealogy of the Calukya family between Vijayāditya and Tailapa as given in the Miraj grant of Jayasimha dated Śaka 946.



Genealogy of the Later Calukyas.



SECTION XIV.
THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.
Early History of the Family

THE genealogy of the Yādavas is given in the introduction to the Vratākhaṇḍa attributed to or composed by Hemādri who was a minister of Mahādeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the Manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others, it begins with Bhīllama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purāṇic or legendary ancestors to Mahādeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhīllama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī.¹ He considered the Yādava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri, and called it "A New Yādava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yādavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the Vratākhaṇḍa² and on the grant published by the Pandit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 119 f.

2 The edition of the Vratākhaṇḍa in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important Praśastis. I have therefore had recourse to Manuscripts. There is one Manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Deccan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter Praśasti beginning with the reign of Bhīllama. There is another copy in the Collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer Praśasti. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the Manuscript are missing, and the second ends

Seunacandra II who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A.D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes. Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Sangamner and Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates¹ have been recently published, and these also have been compared.

Subāhu who belonged to the Yādava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Drdhaprahāra² became king in the South or Deccan. The Yādavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā; then from the time of Kṛṣṇa they became sovereigns of Dvāravatī or Dvārakā, and came to be rulers of the South from the time of the son of Subāhu, viz Drdhaprahāra. His capital was Śrinagara according to the Vratakhanda, while from the

with Parammadeva the successor of Seunacandra II, while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemādri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4, but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private Collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khasgivale's library. It contains the shorter Praśasti only. My learned friend Gangadhar Shastri Datar procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together. There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins, and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter. This is the only Manuscript of the four now before me, which contains the whole of the longer Praśasti, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the Inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the Manuscript is extremely incorrect. I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nasik, Kolhapur, and Ahmedabad; but none was available at those places. I give the two Praśastis in Appendix C. [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the Vratakhanda for the Government Collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this Section and the Praśasti in Appendix C.]

1 Mr. Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, p. 212, 1, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof. Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 120, f.

2 He is called Drdhaprahārī (nom. sing.) in the MSS.; stanza 20, Appendix C. I.

18 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Candrādityapura, which may have been the modern Chandor in the Nasik district.

He had a son of the name of Seunacandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seunadeśa¹ after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura. Seunadeśa was the name of the region extending from Nasik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadeśa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Dandakaranya.² This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khandesh. In a footnote on the opening page of the Khandesh Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khān given to the Fārūki kings by Ahmed I. of Gujarat. Seunadeśa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khandesh, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadeśa. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khandesh, since it included Devagiri or Daulatabad, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tāpī.

Seunacandra's son Dhādīyappa³ became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhīllama. After Bhīllama, his son Śrīrāja according to the grants, or Rājagi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded⁴ by his son Vaddiga or Vādugi.

1 Stanza 22, Appendix C I.

2 Stanza 19, Appendix C. I.

3 Called Dhādīyasa in the MSS., Appendix C. I. stanza 23.

4 Ibid. Pandit Bhagvanlal translates the words arvāk tasya (see note below) occurring in the Yādava grant as "before him," and placing Vaddiga before Śrīrāja, conjectures that he was Bhīllama's son and that Śrīrāja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne, (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 125a and 128b). But arvāk tasya can never mean "before him", and must mean "after him", and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "before him so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word अग्रजि in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C. I, it appears Rājagi was the son of Bhīllama I,

Vaddiga is in the Sangmner grant represented as a follower of Kṛṣṇarāja who was probably Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, and to have married Voddīyavvā, daughter of a prince of the name of Dhorappa

Then came Dhādiyasa,¹ who was the son of Vādugi according to the Vratākhaṇḍa. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here.

Dhādiyasa was succeeded by Bhīllama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vādugi and consequently his brother.² Bhīllama married according to the grants Lakṣmī or Laccīyavvā,³ the daughter of Jhañjha, who was probably

1 Appendix C. I, stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhāḍiyappa.

2 Ibid Pandit Bhagvanlal omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are :—

आवांकस्य बभूव भूतलहरि श्रीवह्निगच्छो नृप
तस्मात्प्रीतिरभिप्रेतस्तिपते प्रत्यक्षमांशवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this —“Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth, and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhīllama in his actions.” I have already remarked that instead of “before him,” we should have “after him” here. The word तस्मात् is translated by “therefore.” “Wherefore?” I would ask. No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhīllama; and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by “therefore.” Again, the Pandit’s interpretation of प्रत्यक्षमांशवत् as “exactly like in actions” is far-fetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative स्तिपते cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself. What is wanted here is the nominative स्तिपति for स्तिपते and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात् will have its proper sense of “after him,” or “from him.” The correct translation then is “After him” was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and after him or of him (i. e. Vaddiga) came the prosperous, great Bhīllama in whom Virtue became incarnate.” In this way we have here another king Bhīllama, as mentioned in the Prastā in the Vratākhaṇḍa in the passage cited above.

3 This lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhīllama, who is the king mentioned immediately before, and not of his father Vaddiga as the Pandit makes out.

the Śilāhāra prince of Thana of that name. Lacciyavvā sprang on her mother's side from the Rāstrakūta family, and through her son became " the upholder of the race of Yadu ; " so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Sangamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhilla-ma in the Śaka year 922, i e. 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in

- 1 Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Pandit Bhagvanlal has in my opinion not succeeded in solving; and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p. 125a, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII.). The stanza is:—

भार्या यस्य च ब्रह्मराजतनया श्रीलस्थियज्जाह्वया
धर्मन्यागविनेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवशालिनाजसमये यदन्वयाधारिमा
सप्तगोद्यतगज्यभारधरणाद्वायव्यार्घ्या ततः ॥

The Pandit's translation is:—"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lasthiyavvā by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality, who was of the Rāstrakūṭa race, as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority) and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with the seven angas, was an object of reverence, to the three kingdoms. "

I agree with the Pandit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायव्व as राज्यव्व, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines. But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable. The Pandit reads राज from नाज and says that the ये in यदन्वया० ought to be long for the metre, but would make no sense. Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as " an object of reverence to the three kingdoms. " Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line, and secondly, that of the Rāstrakūṭas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यदन्वया० for यदन्वया० and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द्व. In the same manner I think बलिनाज is a mistake for बलिजान. The word जान the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word; or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, नाद from नद्, मान from मद् &c, Or बलिनाज

the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja, and rendered the sovereign authority of Ranarangabhīma firm seems also to be he himself Ranarangabhīma was probably Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yādava prince Bhīlāma II assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja, which we have already noticed. Vaddiga was a follower of Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāstrakūṭa family, whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhīlāma II, of Tailapa. The date 922 Śaka of Bhīlāma's grant is consistent with these facts. The Yādavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power.

The next king was Vesugi¹ called in Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or mis-reading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nāyaladevi, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Cālukya family,² and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thana prince Jhañjha. The Rāstrakūṭas must have been overthrown by the Cālukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Cālukyas.

The Vratakhanda places Arjuna after Vesugi,³ but the two

may be considered as a mistake for बालजन्म, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यदुन्वयाधारिता is to be dissolved as आधारित यदुन्वयः यया । आधारित being made the second member according to Pāṇini II 2. 37. Or, the line may be read as या याना नवबाल-जन्मसमये यदुन्वयाधारिता, the dot over ना being omitted by mistake, and याव written as जाता in consequence of the usual confusion between य and ज. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i. e. through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In this manner the supposition of her being adopted by the Rāstrakūṭas during the younger prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Rāstrakūṭa race on her mother's side

1 Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

2 The expression बालक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for मण्डलिक. The Pandit understands Gogirāja as belonging to the Cālukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

3 Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

grants omit his name; and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yādava prince, but Arjuna the Pāṇḍava, meaning to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhīṣma. The next king was Bhīllama¹ who according to the Kalas-Budruk grant was Vesugi's son. He married Hammā, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Āhavamalla, the Cālukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles.² The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Śaka. The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to A. D. 1025. Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuna, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhīllama." This Bhīllama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Āhavamalla, since Seuna is spoken of, not as the son of the latter or any such near relation, but simply as "having sprung from his race."

The Vratākhaṇḍa supplies the names of the intermediate princes. The elder Bhīllama was succeeded by Vādugi,³ his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words." After him Vesugi⁴ became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told. He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome. Then came Bhīllama, and after him Seuna⁵ who issued the charter translated by pandit Bhagvanlal. What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated.

Seuna is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramāditya II, who is styled the "luminary of the Cālukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇa.⁶ This appears

1 Stanza 26, Ibid.

2 This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Āhavamalla as Pandit Bhagvanlal understands. I need not discuss the matter in detail.

3 Stanza 26, Appendix C. I.

4 Stanza 27, Ibid.

5 Stanza 28, Ibid.

6 Stanza 29, Ibid.

to be a reference to the coalition between the Vengi prince and Vikramāditya's brother Someśvara. The Yādava prince Seuna was thus a close ally of the Cālukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact. Seunacandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 Saumya Samvatsara, while Vikramāditya II got possession of the Cālukya throne in Śaka 998 Nala. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yādava princes to the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, while the important service rendered by Seunacandra to Vikramāditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the Vrata-khanda of Seunacandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne, took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramāditya became king in Śaka 998.

Seunacandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Simharāja¹ or "King Simha," whose full name was Singhana² and who appears to have been his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpūratilaka from Lañjipura and thus did a piece of service to Paramardin, who appears to be Vikramāditya II of the Cālukya dynasty³

He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parnakheta from his enemies, and while residing there, carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa⁴. Then followed his son Amaragāngeya⁵ whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.⁶ After him came Govindarāja who was probably his son Govindarāja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kāliya Ballāla. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated.

1 Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C. I

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 315.

3 Stanza 32, Appendix C. I.

4 Stanzas 33 and 34, Ibid.

5 Stanzas 35, Ibid.

6 JBBRAS, Vol. XV, p. 386.

Ballāla's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yādava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama,¹ who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhillama (being represented as the uncle of Ballāla) must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.² He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Cālukyas.

Pandit Bhagvanlal has published a Stone-Inscription³ existing in a ruined temple at Anjaneri near Nasik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Seunadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063⁴ to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seuna in the Yādava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramāditya II, and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning

1 Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I.

2 In an Inscription at Gadag published by Dr Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 219) Bhillama is represented as the son of Karṇa, who is said to be a brother of Amaragāngeya. In the many Inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty and in the *Prasastis* given in several books the name Karṇa does not occur even once. The Gadag Inscription makes Mallugi the son of Sevanadeva, while in the *Vratakhanda* and the *Paithan plates* he is represented as the son of Singhana, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Seupachandra and was probably his younger son. The Inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be mistake, and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag Inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.

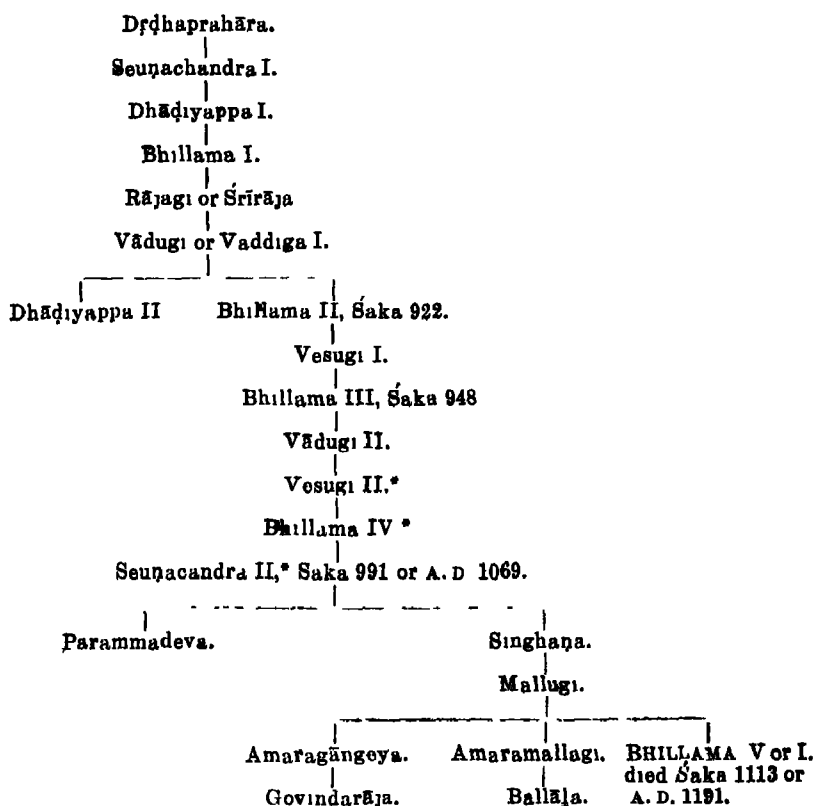
3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 126.

4 The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 422.

of the eleventh century of the Śaka era. The Seunadeva of the Anjaneri Inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhanda. Besides, Seunadeva calls himself pointedly a Mahāsāmanta or chief only ; while about 1063 Śaka, when the Cālukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādavas of Seunadeśa should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Anjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Anjaneri was the chief city.

The number of princes who reigned from Drdhaprahāra to Bhillama V inclusive is 22. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as the predecessors, and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Drdhaprahāra and the death of Bhillama V is 396 years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 717 Śaka or 795 A. D., that is, about the time of Govinda III of the Rāstrakūta race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I was contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarṣa I.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY YĀDAVAS OR THE YĀDAVAS
OF SEUNADEŚĀ.



* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

SECTION XV.

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Later History.

WE have seen that the Hoysala Yādavas of Halebid in Mysore were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Deccan, and Visnuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Cālukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā-Venā. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Cālukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Cālukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalacuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysala throne was Vira Ballāla, the grandson of Visnuvardhana. He fought with Brāhma or Bomma, the general of the last Cālukya prince Someśvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses, defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjana.¹

The Yādavas of the North were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjana. A person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalacuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahīdhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gangādhara. Of these Mahīdhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjana.² But the acquisition of the empire of the

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300.

2 Introduction to Jahlaṇa's *Suktimuktāvalī*, now brought to notice for the first time :—

[Note continued on the next page]

Čalukyās was completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalaveṣṭaka (Mangalvedhe) of the name of Villana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, put to death the lord of Hoṣaḷa who was probably the Hoysaḷa Yādava Narasimha, the father of Vira Ballāḷa.¹ The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahidhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gūrjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.² When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛṣṇā, he founded the city

तस्यान्वयेऽधुत्करिवृन्दनाथो दाढा. सदादाननिदानधुतः ।
 यन्त्येक्षणाद्विज्जणधुपसेन्यं देन्यं गतं संयति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥
 चत्वारस्तस्य संजातास्तनया नयशालिनः ।
 भुजा इव हरे. शशद्विक्रमशीविधुषिता. ॥ ६ ॥
 चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभूव ।
 ख्याता महीधरो जल्हः साम्बो गङ्गाधरस्तथा ॥ ७ ॥
 उपवेरिव ते काले चतुर्भिः सुप्रयोजितैः ।
 मे (मे) लुगिषोणिपालस्य राज्यं जातं सद्योन्नतम् ॥ ८ ॥
 विज्जणशलजलराशिं विमथ्य भुजमन्दरेण यः कृतवान् ।
 वीरश्रियमङ्गस्था स न कस्य महीधरः स्तुत्य ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction is published in the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1887-91.

1 Appendix C. I, stanza 38. Mangalvedhe is near Pandharpur. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

2 Introduction to Jahlaṇa's Suktimuktāvalī :—

विजित्य विज्जणं यति सुरलोकं महीधरे ।
 निनाय भिन्नम जङ्घो राजतां क्षयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥
 घूर्जरधुत्कटके कण्टकविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे येन ।
 भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजः स्वेच्छया नीतः ॥ १२ ॥
 मल्लः पल्लवितोऽभीतिरमितस्त्रस्यङ्गलो मैलुगि—
 घूर्जः पिण्डितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मण ।
 अञ्जो नुन्नपराक्रमो विधुतधूर्मभूरणप्राङ्गणे
 येनाकारि घुरारिविक्रमधुता किं किं न तस्योजितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama. He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family.

of Devagiri¹ and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the Śaka year 1109.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vira Ballāla, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards. It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined. Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkigundi, now Lakkundi, in the Dharwar District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vira Ballāla became sovereign of Kuntala. The Inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A. D. 1192;² and Vira Ballāla, who made the grant recorded in it, was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkigundi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The Northern Yādavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Maratha Country for a generation

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battle. "He assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailāngas, and vanquished the three worlds."³ This same fact is alluded to in the Paithan grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalīngas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Ganapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne.⁴ The Rudra therefore whom

1 Appendix C. I, stanza. 39.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300.

3 Appendix C. I, st. 41. Just as the fruit of a horse-sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man-sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapāla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice, and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere, i. e., in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316,

he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kākatiya dynasty whose Inscription we have at Anamkond near Warangal, and the Ganapati, his nephew ¹ who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Āndhras or Tailangas and his having raised Ganapati to the throne are alluded ² to, and he is represented to have deprived the Āndhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living. ³ Laksmīdhara, the son of the celebrated Mathematician and Astronomer Bhāskarācārya, was in the service of Jaitrapāla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Panditas. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasāstra and Mīmāṃsā. ⁴

Jaitrapāla's son and successor was Singhana, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 Śaka. ⁵ He defeated a king of the name of Jajjala and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkūla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Malwa, and made Bhoja a prisoner. Janārdana, the son of Gangādharma, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Singhana the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna. ⁶ He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gangādharma. 'King Laksmīdhara, the lion of Bhambhāgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhārā was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballāla was taken. All this

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 197

2 JBRRAS, Vol. XV, p. 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 113.

3 JRAS, Vol. I, N. S., p. 414.

4 Ib. p. 415.

5 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 5.

6 Introduction Jahla's Śūktimuktāvalī :—

अस्तिहृक्काधरस्तस्य भ्राता गङ्गाधरोपम ।

एकान्धबन्धु यो व्यालान्धुमोषैकान्यवृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥

तस्याभयन्तुनुरमुनसत्त्वो जनादर्नाह्म करिवाहिनीश ।

समुद्रवयो धुवनं वमार सह भिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥

सिंहोऽप्यध्यापितस्तेन राजशिक्षां तदद्भुतम् ।

ययार्जुनं लसत्यत्रं समुल्लुख्यमुत्तयत् ॥ २० ॥

was but a child's play to King Singhana." ¹ Jajjala must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Cedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty. ² The name Kakkūla I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur. The kings of Mathurā and Kāśī were killed by him in battle, and Hammīra was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singhana. ³ In an Inscription also at Tilivalli in the Dharwar District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballāla the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Panhala, and humbled the sovereign of Mālava. ⁴ He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gūjara king." ⁵ We have an Inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Śaka, which shows that Vīra Ballāla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time. ⁶ Singhana is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri. ⁷

The Bhoja of Panhala spoken of above was a prince of the Śilāhāra dynasty, and after his defeat, the Kolhapur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yādavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on, they did to another, which ruled over Northern Konkan. From this time forward the Kolhapur Inscriptions contain the names of the Yādava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district. An Inscription of Singhana at Khadrapur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Kopeśvara in the year 1136 Śaka.

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarat several times. In an Inscription at Ambe a Brāhmana chief of the name of Kholeśvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yādava sovereign. He humbled the pride of the Gūjara prince, crushed the Mālava, destroyed the race of the

¹ Appendix C. I, st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316.

² General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII, pp. 75, 76 and 79.

³ JRAS, Vol. I, N. S., p. 414.

⁴ JBBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 326.

⁵ Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins. No. 13.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 297.

⁷ Major Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10.

king of the Ābhīras, and being like " wild fire to the enemies " of his master, left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about. His son Rāma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarat. Rāma advanced up to the Narmadā, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gūrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.¹ From this it would appear that Gujarat was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more; and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities for the history of Gujarat.

Somadeva, the author of the *Kīrttikaumudī*, which gives an account of the minister Vastupāla and his masters—the princes of the Vāghelā branch of the Cālukya family—describes an invasion of Gujarat by Singhana in the time of Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala. " The capital of Gujarat trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported. Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gūrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless. Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited, removed farther and farther. When Lavanaprasāda heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yādava prince, he knit his brow in anger; and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior. When the forces of Singhana arrived on the banks of the Tāpī he rapidly advanced to the Mahī. Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Cālukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air, showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yādavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields; but the king of Gujarat did not consider them unconquerable "²

1 Arch. Surv. of W. I., Vol. III, p. 85.

2 *Kīrttikaumudī* IV, stanzas 43-53.

In the meanwhile, however, four kings of Marwar rose against Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala, and the chiefs of Godhrā and Lāta, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Marwar princes. In these circumstances Lavanaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.¹ The Yādava army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance farther; but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."² But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Singhana was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gūrjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay a tribute or satisfied the Yādava commander in some other way. In a Manuscript discovered some years ago of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents, &c, there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Simhana and Lavanaprasāda as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them.³ The result of the expedition, therefore, was that Lavanaprasāda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Singhana.

1 *Ib.*, st. 55-60.

2 *Ib.*, st. 63.

3 This work is entitled *Lekhapañcāśikā*, and the Manuscript was purchased by me for Government in 1883. The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author. The Manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vikrama Samvat. For the variable terms in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression *amuka*, meaning "some one" or "such a one." This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date, and we have in all the forms one date, viz 15 Sudi of Vaisākha in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudi. This probably was the date when the author wrote. Similarly, when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copper-plates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and specific names. He gives the genealogy of the Cēlukya kings of Anahilapaṭṭaṇa from Mularāja to Bhīma II, and then introduces Lavanaprasāda, whom he calls Lāvanyaprasāda and styles a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, as the prince making the grant. Similarly, in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called Yamalapattra, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Simhana and Lāvanyaprasāda and the form runs thus :—

This invasion of Gujarat must have been one of the earlier one's alluded to in the Ambe Inscription, and Kholesvara himself must have been the commander of the Yādava army on the occasion. For Lavanaprasāda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhīma II of Anahilapattana, about the year 1276 Vikrama,¹ corresponding to 1141 Śaka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Singhana's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs, was composed in 1288 Vikrama, i. e. 1153 Śaka. But the expedition under the command of Rāma, the son of Kholesvara, must have been sent a short time before Śaka 1160, the date of Ambe Inscription. For Rāma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakṣmī, who governed the principality in the name of the boy. Rāma, therefore, had not died so many years before Śaka 1160 as to allow of his

सन्त १२८८ वर्षे वैशाखवद्यदि १० संमेल्येह श्रीमद्विजयकटक महाराजाधिगजश्री-
मर्तिहणदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । संगज (साम्राज्य or
सम्राट्) कुलश्रीमर्तिहणदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वसुद्ध्यात्मीय
२ (i. e., आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीय । कनापि कस्यापि भूमी नाक्रमणीया ।

" On this day the 15th Śudī of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Siṃhana and the Mahamandaleśvara Rānaka, the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda. Siṃhana whose patri-
mony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahamandaleśvara Rānā the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country, neither should invade the country of the other. "

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release, that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in this form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Siṃhana is but another form of Singhana, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the " victorious camp, " which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीय we have, I think, the vernacular root रह् " to remain, " " to live. " For further details see my Report on the Search for Manuscripts during 1882-83, pp 39 and 225.

¹ Ind Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Visaladeva, the son of Viradhavala, was the sovereign of Gujarat. For in an Inscription of his he boasts of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army,"¹ and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Śaka 1157,² though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Śaka 1167 and 1246 A. D. The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Rāma's having been killed in the battle. What the ultimate result was, however, the Inscription does not inform us.

Singhana appointed one Bicana or Bica, the son of Cikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there. He fought with his master's enemies in the South as Kholeśvara did in the North and kept them in check. Bicana is represented to have humbled the Rattas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Maratha Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, i. e., of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the South, the Pāndyas, the Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other Southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kāveri.³ The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Śaka 1160 or A. D. 1238.

It thus appears that the Yādava empire became in the time of Singhana as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his Inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (Prthvivālabha)," and "king of kings." Since Kṛṣṇa, the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is represented in the Purāṇas to have belonged to the Yādava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 191 and 212.

2 Viradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupāla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupāla was minister to Visaladeva also for some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

3 JBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 386-7, and Vol. XII, p. 42.

Visnuvaṁśodbhava;¹ and as Kṛṣṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara, "the supreme lord of Dvāravatī, the best of cities."²

In the reign of Singhana as well as of his two predecessors the office of Chief Secretary or Śrīkaranādhīpa, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemādri, was held by a man of the name of Sodhala. He was the son of the Bhāskara, a native of Kashmir who had settled in the Deccan. Sodhala's son Śārngadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled Saṁgīta Ratnākara which is extant.³ There is a commentary on this work attributed to a king of the name of Singa who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Āndhra circle. This Singa appears in all likelihood to be Singhana; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case.⁴ Cāṅgadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarācārya and son of Lakṣmīdhara, was chief astrologer to Singhana; and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarācārya's brother Śrīpati and son of Gaṇapati. Cāṅgadeva founded a Matha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhāntaśiromaṇi and other works at Patna in the Chalisgaon Division of the Khandesh District, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same Division, and

1 i. e. "of the race of Viṣṇu."

2 Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10, and JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 7.

3 तस्याध्वुत्तनय प्रधुतविनय श्रीसोढल प्रौढधी—
येन श्रीकरणमवृद्धाविभवं भुवःक्षमं भिल्लमम् ।
आगध्याखिललोकशोकशमनी कीर्तिः समासाविता
जेन्न जैन्नपद न्यधायि महती श्रीसिद्धिं श्रीरपि ॥

Then follows one verse in praise of Singhana and two in praise of Sodhala, in which he is represented to have pleased Singhana by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired, and then we have तस्मादुत्पाम्बुयेर्जान शार्ङ्गदेवः सुधाकर । उपर्युपरि सत्तन्विः सज्जोदर स्फुरत्कर ॥ Introduction to Saṁgītaratnākara, MSS. No. 979, Deccan College Collections of 1887-91 इति श्रीमदनविनोदश्रीकरणाधिपतिश्रीसोढलवन्दननिःशङ्क-श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायमनुतीयः समाप्तः । fol. 122a.

4 My Report on MSS for 1882-83, pp. 37, 38 and 222.

dedicated it to Bhavāni on the 1st of Caitra in the Śaka year 1144 expired.¹

Singhana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights."² But if he protected the earth at all, he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as Yuvarāja, for the latest date of Singhana is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate Inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Kṛṣṇa, Śaka 1175 (Pramādi-Samvatsara) is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Kṛṣṇa began to reign in Śaka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A. D.³ And in the longer of the two historical Introductions to the Vratākhaṇḍa, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva came to the throne, of whom the elder-Kṛṣṇa-reigned first.⁴

Kṛṣṇa's Prakrit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Malwa, Gujarat, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Telanga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Cola king.⁵ In the Vratākhaṇḍa also he is said to have destroyed the army of Viśala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarat at this time, and who had been at war with Singhana, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra."⁶ Lakṣmīdeva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to

1 JRAS, Vol. I, N. S., p. 415, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 113.

2 Appendix C. II, stanza 7.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 42.

4 Appendix C I, st. 45.

5 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 38.

6 That is, "left this world," "died," Appendix C. II, st. 11.

have helped Kṛṣṇa to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies¹

Kṛṣṇa performed a great many sacrifices and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people." In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1171, found in the Belgaum Taluka, Malla or Mallisetti is spoken of as the elder brother of Bica or Bicana, the Viceroy of Singhana in the South, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhundi. He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Kṛṣṇa, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bagevadi to thirty-two Brahmans of different Gotras². Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahārāstra Brahmans, such as Patavardhana and Ghaisāsa, prevalent among Chitpavanas, and Ghalisāsa, Ghalisa, and Pāthaka, among Deśasthas. The name Trivādi also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Maratha Brāhmanas, while it is borne by Brāhmanas in Gujarat and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Caunda the son of Bicana, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Kṛṣṇa at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein.³

Jahlana, son of Lakṣmīdeva who had succeeded his father, assisted Kṛṣṇa diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother. He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Kṛṣṇa's enemies. He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called *Sūkti-*

1 Intr. Jahlana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* —

विश्वत्राणपरायण स्फुरदुरुस्वर्णार्चितार्थिज-

स्तम्भादद्भुतविक्रम सममवच्छालक्ष्मिर्देव सुधी ।

मन्त्रैर्निर्जितदेवमन्त्रिषिषणैर्जाग्रन्मयप्रक्रमे

राज्य कृष्णमहीपतेरविकल दत्त्वा स्थिर योऽव्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥

अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिन्याञ्जितक्षितिषुद्धर्भा ।

चित्र सौप्यकरोन्मृत्यत्कबन्धसमरणवम् ॥ २२ ॥

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 27. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 304. Kuhundi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum District.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 43.

muktāvali, which is extant.¹ The Vedāntakalpataru, which is a commentary on Vācaspatimīśra's Bhāmātī which itself is a commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya, was written by Amalananda in the reign of Kṛṣṇa.²

Kṛṣṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva in 1182 Śaka or 1260 A. D. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailanga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkana with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnāta and Lāta to mockery."³ The Gūrjara here mentioned must be Viśaladeva noticed above, as Mahādeva is represented in the Paithan grant to have vanquished him;⁴ and the king of Karnāta was probably a Hoysala Yādava of Halebid. "King Mahādeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him; knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Āndhras placed a woman on the throne; and the king of Mālava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions practised false penance for a long time. He took away in battle the elephants and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tailangana, but left the ruler Rudramā as he refrained from killing a woman"⁵ In a work on Poetics called Pratāparudriya by Vidyānātha there occurs

1 Introduction, Jahlana's Sūktimuktavali :—

तस्यास्ते तनयो नयोऽधिबिधुर्बन्धुर्बुधाना सुधी
 सारासारविचारणासु चतुर श्रीजह्णाराख्य क्षिर्ना ॥ २६ ॥
 मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलबद्धेऽपि सर्गोपसर्ग
 राज्य प्राज्यप्रभावप्रयितगुणधृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
 तन्निर्वाह्य मयेति द्विगुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिर्बिधुं
 सर्व यः स्वाधि (नि)कार्यं हिनमन्यहना भावुकैरनुजेन ॥ २७ ॥
 धूर्ध्वं यस्यास्ति हस्तान्जं मदन्ध्या करिवाहिनी ।
 दानादकप्रवाहोत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥
 तेनेय क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसंग्रहान् ।
 स्तुक्तिमुक्तावलीकण्टकन्दलीधुषणं सताम् ॥ ३० ॥

2 Transactions, Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I, p. 423.

3 Appendix C I, st. 48, and II, st. 13.

4 Ind Ant, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

5 Appendix C. I, st 52, and II, st 14 and 15.

a specimen of a dramatic play in which Ganapati of the Kākatiya dynasty, the same prince who is represented in the Paithan grant to have been released from confinement by Jaitugi, is mentioned as having left his throne to his daughter, whom, however, he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as "a king" and not queen. She adopted Pratāparudra, the son of her daughter, as her heir. This, therefore, was the woman spoken of above as Budramā and as having been placed on the throne by the Āndhras.¹

"Soma, the lord of Konkana, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahādeva's maddened elephants." "Mahādeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life."² We have seen that Kṛṣṇa fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahādeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants. Soma or Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,³ probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahādeva's prowess to be more unbearable.⁴ Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yādavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahādeva's successor, as we find from the Thana plates published by Mr. Wathen.⁵ The Someśvara whom Mahādeva subdued belonged to the Śilāhāra dynasty of Thana that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty

1 एवमेतत् । अन्यथा कथमीश्वरप्रसादाद्वने निरङ्कुशं खीव्यक्तिविशेषस्य लोकाधिपत्यम् । एष मातुष-
शम्भुना गणपतिमहाराजेनाभ्यन्तरस्यानुभाषस्य सदृशमत्र पुत्र इति व्यवहारः कृतस्तदनुगुणा च रुद्र
इत्यादि । Poona lithographed edition of Śaka 1771, fol. 29. See also Dr.
Hultzsch's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, pp. 198, 199

2 Appendix C. I, st. 49, 50, and II, st. 17.

3 Appendix C. I., st. 49.

4 Ibid. I, st. 51, and II, st. 18.

5 JRAS (old series), Vol. V, p. 177.

whose Inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182.¹

Mahādeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Dandakāranya. It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."² At Pandharpur there is an Inscription dated 1192 Śaka, Pramoda Samvatsara, in which Mahādeva is represented to have been reigning at the time. He is there called Praudhapratāpa Cakravartin, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour". The Inscription records the performance of an Aptoryāma sacrifice by a Brahman chief of the name of Keśava belonging to the Kasyapa Gotra

The immediate successor of Mahādeva was Āmana³ who appears to have been his son; but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Rāmacandra, son of Kṛṣṇa, who ascended the throne in 1193 Śaka or 1271 A D. He is called Rāmadeva or Rāmarāja also. In the Thana copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mālava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country. He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailanga king." This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratāparudra the successor of Rudramā, which are mentioned in the work noticed above. Several other epithets occur in the grants; but they are given as mere birudas or titles which were inherited by Rāmacandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign. His Inscriptions are found as far to the South as the confines of Mysore, so that the empire he ruled over was as large as it ever was.

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 422.

2 Appendix C. II, st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himālaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods".

3 Palthan grant, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 317.

There is in the Deccan College Library a Manuscript of the Amarakośa written in Konkani on Tāla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Śaka 1219 and A. D. 1297. His viceroy in Konkani in Śaka 1212 was a Brahman named Kṛṣṇa belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanābha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Siṃghana. One of the Thana grants was issued by him, and the other, dated 1194 Śaka, by Acyuta Nāyaka, who was also a Brahman and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear. By the Paithan copper-plate charter, which was issued in Śaka 1193, Rāmacandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brahmans on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Brahmans and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds. ¹

Hemādri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmaśāstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmacandra and was minister to both. In the Introduction to his works on Dharmaśāstra he is called Māhādeva's Śrīkaranādhipa or Śrīkaranaprabhu. In the Thana copper-plate of 1194 Śaka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the Ādhipatyā or Controllership of all karana. This office seems to have been that of Chief Secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the State Record. Hemādri is also called Mantrin or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Thana plate, Rāmarāja instead of Mahādeva is represented as his master. Mahādeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Siṃghana, sometimes with Bhillama, while in the Dānakhaṇḍa the exploits of Mahādeva alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy. But the Vratākhaṇḍa, which was the first work composed by Hemādri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning, and by far the greater portion of it, is undoubtedly historical.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 319.

Hemādri was a Brahman of the Vatsa Gotra. His father's name was Kāmadeva, grandfather's Vāsudeva, and great-grandfather's Vāmana.¹ He is described in terms of extravagant praise; and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this. Hemādri was very liberal to Brahmans and fed numbers of them every day. He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him. He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave. He evidently possessed a great deal of influence. Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned; but the idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system, must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision.

His great work is called the *Caturvarga Cintāmani*, which is divided into four parts, viz, (1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances; (2) *Dānakhanda*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached, are explained; (3) *Tirthakhanda*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places; and (4) *Moksakhanda*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khanda* or part which is called *Parīśesakhanda* or Appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Śrāddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rights, and (4) on *Prāyaścitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called *Āyurvedarasāyana* on a medical treatise by Vāgbhata and another on Bopadeva's *Muktāphala*, a work expounding Vaisnava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

This Bopadeva was one of Hemādri's proteges and the author of the work mentioned above, and of another entitled *Harīlīlā*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhāgavata*. Both of these were written at the request of Hemādri as the author himself tells

1 *Parīśesakhanda*, Bib. Ind. Ed., pp. 4-5,

us.¹ Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berar. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called Mugdhabodha, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us

Hemādri has not yet been forgotten in the Maratha country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemādpant, and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. He is said to have introduced the Modi or the current form of writing, and is believed to have brought it from Lankā or Ceylon. As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing.

The great Maratha Sādhu or Saint Jñāneśvara or Dnyāneśvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of Rāmcandra. At the end of his Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā he tells us: "In the Kali age, in the country of Mahārāstra and on the southern bank of the Godāvari, there is a sacred place five kośas in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahālayā, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world. There, king Rāmacandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gītā by Jñānadeva, the son of Nivrttinātha, sprung from the family of Mahēsa."² The

1 विद्वद्भनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवस्तुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमन्वीकृतः ॥
 श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥

Dr. Rajendralal's Notices of Skr. MSS, Vol. II, pp. 48 and 200.

2 एतें युगी परि कळा । आणि महागद्दमंडळी ।
 श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूळी । दक्षिणली ॥ १ ॥
 त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशसेव ।
 जेथ जगाच जीवनसुख । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥
 तेथ यदुशविलास । जो सकळकळाविवास ।
 न्यायान पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥
 तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूत । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुतें ।
 केल ज्ञानेवं गीते । देशीकार लेणें ॥ ४ ॥

date of the completion of the work is given as Śaka 1212 or A. D. 1290, when we know Rāmacandra was on the throne.

Rāmacandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Deccan. The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Deccan, it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time. Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit. In the year 1294 A. D. or Śaka 1216, he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the South till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the West appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it. The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested. Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Deccan. Rāmacandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold. In the meantime, Rāmacandra's son Śāmkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege, and proceeded with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śāmkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back; but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison, joined them at this time, and Śāmkara's followers, thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi, were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus.

Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva then continued the negotiations,

but Alla-ud-din raised his demands. The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Rāmacandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt; and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted, he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi. On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince, Alla-ud-din retired.

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Rāmacandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour. Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A. D., or about the end of Śaka 1228. A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Rāmadeva was taken prisoner.¹ According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself. Rāmacandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans. In Śaka 1231 or A. D. 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Deccan to subdue Tailangana. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

Rāmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śamkara. He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Deccan in Śaka 1234 or A. D. 1312 to reduce him to submission. He put Śamkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din, his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over

¹ Elliot's History of India, Vol. III, p. 77.

him, revolted. In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik. The opportunity was seized by Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmacandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 Śaka or A. D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Deccan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapāla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

Thus ended the last Hindu or Maratha monarchy of the Deccan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire.

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER YĀDAVAS OR THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Malhugi.

1. Bhīllama

(Śaka 1109-1113 or A. D. 1187-1191.)

2. Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi.

(Śaka 1113-1132 or A. D. 1191-1210.)

3. Singhapa

(Śaka 1132-1169 or A. D. 1110-1247.)

Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi.

4. Kṛṣṇa, Kanbāra or Kandbāra.

(Śaka 1169-1182 or A. D. 1247-1260.)

5. Mahādeva

(Śaka 1182-1193 or A. D. 1260-1270.)

6. Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva.

(Śaka 1193-1231 or A. D. 1271-1309.)

Āmaṇa.

7. Śaṅkara (Śaka 1231-1234 or A. D. 1309-1312.)

Brother-in-law, Harapāla, killed in Śaka 1240 or A. D. 1318.

SECTION XVI.

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR.

THREE distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jimūtavāhana the son of Jimūta-ketu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śankha-cūda by offering himself as a victim to Garuda in his place¹. One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was Tagarapuravarādhīśvara or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kāmvadeva, the donor of the Rajapur grant, who was a Cālukya, called himself Kalyānapuravarādhīśvara, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage, and of the rulers of Goa was Banavāsīpuravarādhīśvara. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāna and Banavāsī, so does Tagarapuravarādhīśvara show that the Śilāhāras, who bore the title, belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilāhāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Śilāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."² As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era, and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Āndhrabhūṭya period and the foundation of the Cālukya power.

The three Śilāhāra dynasties of Mahāmandaleśvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded

1 This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play Nāgānanda attributed to Śrī-Harsa.

2 Grant translated by Dr. Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. जिलाहाराख्यबोधायं तर्गाश्चर्यमुत्तमम् ।

in the times of the Rāstrakūtas. One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Puri, which probably was at one time the capital of the province. As represented in an Inscription at Kanheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullasakti by Amoghavarsa a few years before Śaka 775.

Another Śilāhāra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named Śanaphulla enjoying the favour of Kṛṣṇarāja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.¹ There were three Rāstrakūta princes of the name of Kṛṣṇarāja, but the one meant here must be the first prince of the name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era or between 753 and 775 A. D.² The genealogy of this dynasty is

1 Kharepatan plates, JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 217. The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bal Gangadharā Śāstrī; but the first letter looks like ञ though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to श The letter which was read by him as ञ is clearly ण. For देशसमाधने I find देशसंसाधने on the plates.

2 From Śanaphulla the first chief, to Ratṭa the last, there are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Ratṭa was on the throne in Śaka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Śaka 930. Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Śaka 687 as the approximate date of Śanaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either cases, we are brought to the reign of Kṛṣṇa I. The dates of Kṛṣṇa II range from Śaka 797 to 833 and of Kṛṣṇa III from Śaka 862 to 881, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case, and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 930, we get Śaka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Kṛṣṇa II whose earliest date is Śaka 797. The Kharepatan family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Kṛṣṇa I.

Bal Śāstrī read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu, but the second syllable of the name is certainly not ह्र the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the ह्र in the word परमहृत्कारक and आषट्कानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

given in the Kharepatan grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Śaka 930 while the Cālukya king Śatyāśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Kharepatan.

The third Śilāhāra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj, and Karhad, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Rāstrakūta empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nāyimma or Nāyivarman. Nāyimma was followed by his son Candrarāja, and Candrarāja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhala."¹

Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahāta-Kundi² and Mairiñja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gūvala, Kirtirāja, and Candrāditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mārasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Śaka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples, and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khiligili, which probably was another name Panhala in the Kolhapur districts. Mārasimha was succeeded by his son Gūvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballāla and Gandarāditya governed the principality after him in succession.

An Inscription at Kolhapur mentions another brother named Gangadeva, and the order in which the brothers are spoken of, is Gūvala, Ganga, Ballāla, Bhoja and Gandarāditya.³ But the grants of Gandarāditya and Bhoja II agree in representing Bhoja

1 See the grant of Gaṇḍarāditya published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in JBRRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 2, of Mārasimha in JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 280, and Arch. Surv. W. I. No. 10, p. 102; and of Bhoja II, in Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom., Vol. III.

2 Mārasimha's grant. Kuṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before. Mairiñja is Miraj.

3 Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report.

as the elder and Ballāla as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gandarāditya seems to have been the most famous. He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji,¹ and in others recorded on stone at Kolhapur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058.² He ruled over the country of Mirīñja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhapur Śilāhāras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gomka or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Deccan Śilāhāras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Kharepatan grant,³ wherefore it follows that the Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhapur districts.

Gandarāditya fed a hundred thousand Brahmans at Prayāga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhapur, and not the modern Allahabad. He built a Jaina temple at Ajara, a village in the Kolhapur districts,⁴ and constructed a large tank, called after him Gandasamudra or "the sea of Ganda," at Irukudi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of of Īsvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled.⁵ He first resided at a place called Tiravāda and afterwards at Valavāta, which has been identified with the present Valavda.⁶

1 In loc. cit.

2 Bhagvanlal's plates, and Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report. The Śaka in Bhagvanlal's grant and No. I of Major Graham's Inscriptions is the same, i. e. 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but cyclic years are different. As to this see Appendix B.

3 For the village granted is Kaseli, which is near Jaitapur and Kharepatan.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note.

5 His grant in loc. cit.

6 Bhagvanlal's plates and Major Graham's Inscriptions No. 2,

Gandarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayārka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073.¹ He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thana to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky.² He assisted Vijjana³ in his revolt against his masters, the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty. This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Śaka

After Vijayārka, his son Bhoja II became Mahāmandaleśvara and reigned in the fort of Panhala. His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127.⁴ He granted the village of Kaseli in Konkan near Kharepatan, on the application of his son Gandarāditya for feeding Brahmans regularly⁵; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhapur are called Karahātakas, which shows that the caste of Karhada Brahmans had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of Ghaisāsa, which is now found among Chitpvan Brahmans.⁶ In the reign of Bhoja II, a Jaina Pandit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled Śabdārnavacandrikā⁷ on Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit Grammar.

The Kolhapur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vijjana, the new sovereign at Kalyāna, however, endeavoured

1 Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report.

2 Grant of Bhoja II in loc. cit.

3 In the transcript of the Inscription in Vol. IV, Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom. we have Vikṣṇa for Vijjana. There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the Inscription or of the engraver. For the Kalacuri usurper at Kalyāna is called both Vijjala or Vijjana in his Inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka obtained the position of a Cakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the Inscription.

4 Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note.

5 There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given.

6 Ins. No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

7 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note. The Manuscript here mentioned is in the Deccan College Library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

probably to establish his authority over Bhoja. But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection, Vijjana marched against Kolhapur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1089.¹ On the establishment of the Devagiri Yādavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence; but Singhana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yādava empire.²

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gandarāditya is seven. The latest date of the latter is Śaka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayārka is 1065; so that if we suppose Gandarāditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Śaka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family. At that time the reigning Rāstrakūta sovereign was Kṛṣṇa III, the uncle of Kakkala, the last prince.

One of the many titles used by the Śilāhāras was Śrīman-Mahā-lakṣmī-labdha-vara-prasāda, i. e., "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālakṣmī." Mahālakṣmī was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purāṇic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brahmans and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact—noticed above—of Gandarāditya's having placated an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him.

There are at the present day many Maratha families of the name of Selara reduced to poverty, and the name Selaravadi of a station on the Railway from Khandala to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara.

¹ Vijalarāya Caritra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p. 320.

² Sec. XV,

Jatiga I.
Nāyīmma.
Candrārāja.
Jatiga II.

Gomka. Gūvala I. Kīrtirāja. Candrāditya.

Mārasimha, Śaka 980 or A.D. 1058.

Gūvala II. Bhoja I. Ballāja. Gaṇḍaraditya, Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058, or
A.D. 1110, 1118, 1136.
Vijayarka, Śaka 1065, 1073, or A.D.
1143, 1151.
Bhoja II, Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113,
1114, 1127, or A.D. 1179,
1187, 1190, 1191, 1192,
1205.

APPENDICES TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

APPENDIX A.

A NOTE ON THE GUPTA ERA.

IN order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over Western and Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarat in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the Inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs, the dates are referred to Guptakāla or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, viz., that the era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true.

On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case. Albiruni was also informed that the Śaka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Śaka king by Vikramāditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Sodhala in his commentary on Bhāskarācārya's *Karanakutūhala*—a Manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government

during 1882-83—tells us that “the epoch when Vikramāditya killed Mlecchas of the name of Śakas is ordinarily known as the Śaka era.” But we know that in Mangalīśa’s Inscription at Badami it is spoken of as the era of the “Coronation of the Śaka king”; that Ravikīrti in the Inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Śaka kings, and that, it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni’s error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Śaka era does his statement about the initial date of that era.

The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, viz., that the Guptas were exterminated in Śaka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the Inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Śaka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Śaka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition, which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous, has been proved to be erroneous.

Again, Albiruni’s statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhī era was the same seems to some not “at all probable.” To my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence. We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it. So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty. Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthu-

mous son. The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era.

What, then, could have been the Valabhi era, if it was never used by the Valabhi princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhi princes must be the Valabhi era. One certainly would expect that it should be so. The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhis in Surāstra and used by them was called the Valabhi era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty; for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhi princes themselves. The era introduced and used by the Valabhis was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhi eras was the same is true. From an Inscription at Somanath discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Śaka 242 was the first year of the Valabhi era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Śaka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to, to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Alhiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Śaka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date :—

1. The date of Budha Gupta's Pillar Inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Āsāḍha, in the Gupta year 165.
2. Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahāvaiśākha.
3. Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuja.
4. Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahācaitra.
5. Rājā Samksobha's Inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuja.
6. An Eclipse of the Sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phālguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era.

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Śaka. To convert a Śaka date into a Valabhi date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Śaka corresponds to 712 Valabhi or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in Inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the past year and in about a third of the instances, the current year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into the current Śaka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former; while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta 165 + 241 = 406 Śaka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āsādha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it was a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Śaka year, and even our present Śaka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as Śaka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A. D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A. D., adding $240 + 78 = 318$ to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āsādha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added $241 + 78 = 319$ and taken 484 A. D. to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result.

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them. In the Tables published by him in Volume X of the *Archæological Reports*, the cyclic year corresponding to the current Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the current Śaka year.

Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find) then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 Śaka past and 415 current, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second. If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the current Christian year, which is 493. Now in General Cunningham's Tables we do find the year Mahāvayuja given as corresponding to 493 A. D. In the same way, 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current, + 78 = 511 A. D., current. In the Tables we find 511 put down under Mahācaitra. Similarly 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current, + 78 = 529 A. D. current which was Mahāśvayuja.

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A. D., which however is Mahācaitra instead of Mahāvaiśākha. Here there is a discrepancy of one year; but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Śaka dates and the years of the 60-years' cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix. They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the past year to be mistaken for the current year, just as we now mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the Inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now 157 Gupta + 242 + 78 = 477 A. D., which is Mahāvaiśākha, according to the Tables. ¹

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaiśākha,

1 Though by using General Cunningham's Table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 18 to the past Śaka, while I have added 79; i. e., the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the Inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute. (1894).

Śaka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the current year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta past; for $585 + 242 = 827$. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phālguna Sudi mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaiśākha and the deed executed in Phālguna¹

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A. D. and 190 A. D. proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds; for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni. The date on a copper-plate grant by the last Śilāditya of Valabhī hitherto known is 447. This Śilāditya is also styled Dhruvabhata in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhata of Hwan Thsang who visited Valabhī in 640 A. D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added it, corresponds to 766 A. D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Śilāditya or Dhruvabhata nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit.

But the identification of the last Śilāditya with Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings, and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Malwa and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata was son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Malwa they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Śilāditya of Valabhī was his

1 There was an eclipse also in Śaka 826 on the new-moon day of Kārttika; so that Gupta 585 past + 241 = 826 Śaka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question see my paper on the Epoch of the Gupta era, JBBRAS, Vol. XVII, pp. 80 ff.

father, and among the kings of Valabhi we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata. Nothing important is involved in the suffix Bhata. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rao are among us the Marathas. Sena, Simha, and Bhata were the Valabhi honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV, is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A. D. ($310 + 241 + 78 = 629$), and the second to 645 ($326 + 241 + 78 = 645$). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A. D. at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhi.

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the Śaka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawad in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley are not.

We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhis were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence. Candragupta II must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 93. This corresponds to 260 A. D., and 283 A. D., on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A. D., and 190 A. D., respectively

Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304. If the era to which it refers is the Śaka, it corresponds to 382 A. D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Candragupta II. The Saka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A. D., which of course is consistent with Candragupta's date 260 A. D. or 283 A. D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradāman's 72 must correspond to 16 A. D., Rudradāman's grandfather Castana will have to be placed about B. C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A. D., tells us that Ujjayini was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Castana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old.

It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Bairhana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer may mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura, was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pulumayi and Gotamiputra Yajña Śrī, since as

Vilivāyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhapur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India, and these, from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him were. No ground whatever has been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the *Periplus* which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Tiastenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided." If Tiastenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the *Periplus* to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tiastenes, Polemios and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been.

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ. Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the Śaka era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the Śakas who ruled over the country in every way probable. The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A. D., and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 Śaka current or 319-320 A. D. as the first current year of the

Gupta era ; for his 93 past will then correspond to 412-413 A. D. And in this way Rudradāman's 72 will correspond to 150 A. D; and Castana's date will be about 130 A. D., i. e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming.

APPENDIX B.

A NOTE ON THE ŚAKA DATES AND THE YEARS OF THE BĀRHASPATYA CYCLE OCCURRING IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

There are certain difficulties with reference to the Śaka dates and the cyclic years or Samvatsaras occurring in the Inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current Śaka year (A D 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, Subhānu. In the Southern Provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Śaka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question, then, is, "Do the dates in the Inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?"¹ We have also to consider whether the Śaka dates in the Inscriptions represent the number of years that have expired before the event recorded in them, or the current year in which the event took place.

Mr. Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Śaka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current Śaka year corresponding to that cyclic year, is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against Śaka 855, the date of the Sangali grant of Govinda IV of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, we have in the third column, the cyclic year Vijaya, which shows that 855 years of the Śaka era had expired before the Vijaya year began, while the current Śaka year corresponding to Vijaya was that given in the next line, viz 856. Mr. Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables

1 It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that Śaka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 Śaka was not current in 1883-84 A. D. but past, and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that "we now mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year" (in 1883-84), so that there is no possibility whatever of anybody misunderstanding my meaning.

according to the Bombay mode, the Śaka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current Śaka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year Subhānu, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Śaka dates and cyclic years occurring in the Inscriptions with those in the Tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions published by Dr Fleet and Dr. Burgess, there are 97 cases in which the Śaka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Śaka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the Inscription. These are :—

Nos. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286.

Thus in Inscription No. 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the Bahudhānya, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables.

In 28 cases the Śaka date given in the Inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are :—

Nos 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281

In No 19, for instance, the Śaka date is 1184 and the cyclic year Durmati. In the Tables, Durmati occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and Dundubhi is the year marked against it

Now on the supposition that the Inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the Śaka date represents the number of Śaka years that had expired before the current cyclic year of the Inscription, and in 28 it shows the current year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current

year, and those in the next 28, the future year and not the past. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the Inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the Inscriptions give the past Śaka year, there is a large number in which the current year is given and not the past.

I have also compared other dates with the Tables, and the result I give below :—

	Śaka date.	Cyclic year.	What the Śaka date represents.
Kanarese grant of Govinda III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa	726	Subhānu	Current year.
Radhapur grant of do.	730	Sarvaṇṇa	Do.
Kṛṣṇa II or Akēlavarsa, completion of the Jaina Purāṇa	820	Piṅgala	Do.
Do. in a Jaina temple by Cīkārya	824	Dundubhī	Years elapsed.
Govinda IV. Sangah grant	855	Vijaya	Do.
Kakkala, Karda grant	894	Angiras	Do.
Tailapa's accession	895	Śrīmukha	Do.
Satyāśraya, Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭa	930	Kilaka	Do.
Jayasimha Jagadekmalla, Miraj grant	946	Raktāksi	Do.
Mārasimha Śilāhāra of Kolhapur grant	980	Vilambin	Do.
Gapdārāditya Śilāhāra of Kolhapur, Ins. No. 1	1032	Vikṛti	Years elapsed.
Do. Do. grant translated by Pandit Bhagvanlal	1032	Virodhin	Current year.
Do. Kolhapur Ins. No. 2	1040	Vilambin	Years elapsed.
Vijayārka do. do. No. 4	1065	Dundubhī	Current year.
Someśvara III, Bhūlokamalla, Abhilasita Cintāmaṇi	1051	Sauraya	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II, Kolhapur Ins. No. 6	1101	Vilambin	Current year.
Do. do. " No. 8	1112	Sādhārāṇa	Years elapsed.
Do. Dr. Taylor's grant	1113	Virodhin	Do.
Do. Kolhapur Ins. No. 8	1114	Paridhāvin...	Do.
Śiṅghaṇa Yādava, Khedrapur Ins.	1136	Śrīmukha	Current year.
Kāmvadeva Cālukya	1182	Raudra	Years elapsed.
Mahādeva Yādava, Pandharpur Ins.	1192	Pramoda	Do.
Rāmacandra Yādava, Thana	1194	Aṅgiras	Do.
Do. do. do. ...	1212	Virodhin	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, viz 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The Inscriptions of the early Cālukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as *Gatesu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *Pravartamāne*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped; and in the course of time, the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the past or expired year without knowing that it is past year.

And there are in the Inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real past year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, Śaka 911 is given along with the cyclic year *Vikrti*. Now, according to the Tables, the number of years that had expired before *Vikrti* was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Śaka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the Inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with the Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Śaka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them.

In some cases the Śaka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vani-Dindori grant of

Govind III, the Śaka date is 730 and the Samvatsara Vyaya, and in the Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarsha, we have Śaka 775 and the Prajāpati Samvatsara. Now the Śaka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajāpati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the current years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be past years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the current years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775. The date in No. 79 of Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions is three years behind the current Samvatsara, and that in No. 228, four years; No. 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No. 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered to be mistakes.

The Śaka dates given in the preceding pages represent in most cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned. Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the Śaka era had expired*.

APPENDIX C.

INTRODUCTION TO HEMĀDRI'S VRATAKHANDA.

In the critical notes D. represents the MS. in the Deccan College Library, No 234 of A. 1881-82; D 2 another recently added to the Collection, S. the MS. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No 657; Kh the MS belonging to Khasgivale, and G. the MS. procured by Gangadhar Sastri Datar See Section XIV, first page, note 2.

* श्रीगोपालमपागवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलालयं
सान्द्राक्षिधनमालकोमलडलडयामाभिरामाकृतिम् ।
कूजन्कोकिलकामिनीकिलवमोल्लासिगोपाङ्गना-
गिनस्कीतपवित्रचित्रचरितवार्त नमस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥
उन्मीलितकमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुद्धप्रभं
सागसागविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन मंसेवितम् ।
नित्यातन्द्रागमक्कमुमग वन्द्यकवुन्दारक-
श्रेणीभङ्गमनङ्गवैचिण्याभोजद्वय पातु वै ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S. and D. 2, but they occur fully in D and Kh which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G. which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

१ सङ्क for भङ्ग D Kh २ नः for व. D Kh.

Rājaprasasti I.

जीयान्तु न भूतसर्गममयाधिर्भावसमावना-
तुष्टयलपभुजङ्गपुङ्गवाशिर श्रेणीशतेर्वन्दिनः ।
कलशान्नोपगमेषु नाभिकमले प्राङ्गामसामम्बर-
स्वैरेच्छागणचारणायितविधिदयाधृतनिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥
अस्ति प्रशस्त पुरुषोत्तमस्य शम्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।
यदीयपीयूषरमायनेन स्वर्लोकभाजार्जुनजगमरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥
सनात्तन्निष्ठागणिकामधेनुकल्प दुमर्धुजननेकहेतोः ।
सिन्धोमुष्मादुदभुजमन्डानस्यन्वमानामृतविन्दुगिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥
ततस्तद्वृज विबुधप्रधानं बुधं सुवादीधिनिरप्यस्तुत ।
बभूव तस्मादथ चक्रवर्ती पुरूवाः पुण्यस्थानुवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥
अमजन जनिमस्मादशुभायुः प्रजाता
नष्टुपडनिदानं ज्योतिर्गसीननोपि ।

१ जायान्तु °S जीवन्तु °G २ °कल्प °S नृत्यG. ३ °मानोG. मानीS. ४ प्रबोधि for प्रधानंG. ५ र वा ° for पथा ° S. D2 ६ जन S. D2. जसिG. for जनि.

नृपनिग्य ययाति^१ ख्यातिमानप्यमुष्मा-
 वयमपि यदुष्ट^२नि कीर्तिमाविशकार ॥ ७ ॥
 यदोरदोषविशद्वैर्यशोभिरभिज्ञोभिन ।
 अन्ववाय स एवायमवाय यदुवंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥
 ततः कोटा तस्मादजनि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-
 स्तनो जज्ञ गज्ञ^३ क्षिनिपनिगिह स्वाहित इति ।
 मुशङ्कुस्तपुत्र समभवदथो चित्रय इ-
 त्यनो जान. ख्यात स स्त्रित शशविन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥
 ततः पृथुश्रवा वीरस्नवनन्तगमन्तर ।
 ततः सुयज्ञ उशना सितेयुरिति च क्रमाद् ॥ ८ ॥
 स्तुतस्तस्य मरुत इत्यनुपम मोद्गामङ्गविक्रम-
 स्तस्मात्कम्बलवर्हिरुज्ज्वलयज्ञ प्रक्षालितक्ष्मातल ।
 एतस्मादुडियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्मृप-
 स्तस्मादूरितुरंगमधसुक्रती राजाजनि ज्यामयः ॥ ९ ॥
 तनो विदर्भ क्रयकुन्तिवृष्णानिवृत्तिसज्ञा परबो दशार्ह ।
 व्योमा^४ च जीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता नगन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीर ॥ १० ॥
 तदनु भीमरथ पृथिवीपानिर्नवरथश्च तनो गथिना वर ।
 बृशरथ^५ शकुनिश्च कम्भिगित्युपविशन्ति पुराणपरयणाः ॥ ११ ॥
 देवराजस्तनः श्रीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्तनो मथ ।
 ततः कुरुबले राजा पुरुहोत्र क्रमादभत् ॥ १२ ॥
 अशायुरार्मादथ सौत्वनो^६भूवधान्धको^७माद्वजमानसेज ।
 बिद्वथस्तत्परनोपि शृगगा^८ प्रतिक्षत्र इति क्षितीश ॥ १३ ॥
 अमुशाय स्वयभोजस्तनोपि हृदिकोभवत् ।
 अमूत सौपि यर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीदृषम् ॥ १४ ॥
 निक्षिप्तानि शैथिनवर्गिष्ठुरस्तन क्षिनि पालयति स्म शूर ।
 तनोपि राजा वसुंभवनामा यो विश्वहेनोगपि हेतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥
 पुन्दा^९गृन्दाकगृन्डमालिमन्दागमालासुरमीकृताङ्घ्रिः ।
 आमीदमुष्माउसुगवतागभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारि^{११} ॥ १६ ॥

१ घृति. S D 2 घृति G २ स्याहित S स्नाहित G. ३ वज्ञा S. G. ४ मधि S. G.
 ५ व्योमाद् S. व्योमाय G व्योमाद् D 2. ६ देवरात D 2. ७ नाम for राजा G. ८ सन्वनो D 2.
 ९ अन्धकस्मा G. S १० So both MSS, also D 2. But there must be a mistake.
 The name of Śūra's son गाणि is disguised as गाद्दी. Perhaps the reading is
 गुराशोणी. ११ पुरा मुरारि. S. पुरारि. D. 2.

बभूव प्रभुः किल कृष्णधन्वा मधुरिपा-
 खिलोकीषीरिसौ तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रभुधुं ।
 ततो भूधृत्यक्षपणनिपुणेनैव महसा
 परिस्फुर्जन्वजः शतमखसख प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥
 वज्रस्य स्रुतुः प्रनिवाहुरासीद्दासीकृतक्षमापतिचक्रवालः ।
 तन्तपि सम्राट्भवत्सुबाहुः प्रासूत सोय चतुरस्तद्वज्रात् ॥ १८ ॥
 तेन ते सार्वभौमेन तनया विनयान्विता ।
 विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चक्रिरे पृथिवीश्वरा ॥ १९ ॥
 यथाविभागं वसुधामशेषां तेषां तत्रा पालयतां चतुर्णां च ।
 वृद्धप्रहारी दिशि दक्षिणस्यां प्रभुर्बभूव प्रथमात्कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥
 सर्वेपि पूर्वं मथुराधिनाथा कृष्णाद्रितो द्वारवतीश्वरास्ते ।
 सुबाहुश्चनोरतु दक्षिणाशप्रशासिनो यादववंशवीराः ॥ २१ ॥
 ततः स राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठितः श्रीनगरं गरीयः ।
 तंभं सुतं सङ्गचन्द्रसर्जं यत्सज्जया सङ्गङ्गमाहुः ॥ २२ ॥
 अथ धाडियसा महीपानिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिल्लमः ।
 अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगिस्तदनु प्रादुरभूत्स बाहुगिः ॥ २३ ॥
 जङ्गं धाडियमस्तनः प्रनिभटक्षमापालकालानल-
 स्तस्माद्राविःधुत्प्रभूतविभवो भनी भुवो भिल्लमः ।
 एतस्मान्महतां महानिधिरसौ धीविस्त्रुगिर्जङ्गिवत्
 हन्ता भीष्मधुर्जङ्गसाभसुहृदां तस्माद्रुद्रजुनः ॥ २४ ॥
 अजस्त्रमाविष्कृतज्ञानवारिः प्रभूतहस्ताचित्तदानवारिः ।
 ततः स राजा विरराज राजश्रियो त्रिलासैजितराजराज ॥ २५ ॥
 आसीद्द्विलासी नृपन्मुष्मान्तः भिल्लमः पल्लवितोरुकीर्तिः ।
 स बाहुगिः स्वाहुगिरा कवीनां स्तोत्रैकपात्रं भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥
 ततो मही महीपालः पालयामास वेसुगिः ।
 संहतप्रोच्यदुद्धामधामसामन्तसन्तति ॥ २७ ॥
 ततोपि नृपभिल्लमः समरसीमभीमक्रिया-
 निर्गलभुजगर्गलायुगलकालेलीलाश्रयः ।

१ ख for एव D2. २ परिस्फुर्जन्वज S., G. totally incorrect and there is a lacuna. D2. has वज्रं for वन्य of S. 3. The Purāṇic genealogy ends here. Subāhu, however, is there called Sucāru. ४ दायवता D2. ५ राजगिस्तदनु D2. ६ स बाहुगिः S. सुबाहुगुण. G. ७ This is the reading of S., D2 and G. probably for धाडियस. But the name according to Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant was धाडियण. ८ S. and G. have a wrong and unintelligible reading here. ९ पाव S. पावे G. for पात्र. १० The visarga is dropped in S. and G. ११ संहत D2.

तत समुद्रमिनीपतिपतङ्गभङ्गजनः

प्रनापशिखिलङ्घिनत्रिजगदङ्गणः सउणः ॥ २८ ॥

समुद्रतो^१ येन महाभुजन द्विषा विमर्दत्परमविंशः ।

आस्थापि चानुक्यकुलप्रदीपः कल्याणगज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥

परमदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधनेष्वनागमुष्टी ।

प(५) रमंडनेव रुचा चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिर व्वराज ॥ ३० ॥

तस्यावनन्तरमनन्भुजप्रतापः क्षोणीपतिः समभवत्स ह सिंहराजः ।

तस्यानुजस्तदनु भुवलय बलीयानत्रायन त्रिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥

लङ्गीपुगात्समानीय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।

स कर्पुगन्तं पृष्णमक्रोत्परमर्विनः ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मात्प्रतिमल्लो^१धूमल्लगिर्वल्लभः क्षितिः ।

उद्वृम्भन जम्भारिर्धु^१रिडोउण्डचण्डिमा ॥ ३३ ॥

आसाद्य सद्यः रवनिवासहेतोः श्रीपर्णस्त्रेष्टं नगरं रिपुभ्यः ।

आहारि येनोत्कलधुमिपालादुन्मत्तमातङ्गचटा हटेन ॥ ३४ ॥

तस्मादमर्गाङ्गः सचभुव भुवः पतिः ।

अथाविन्वन गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

ततो मल्लगिपुत्रो^{१२}भृङ्गपालो^{१३}मरमल्लगिः ।

अथ कालीयचलालः पालयामास मन्त्रिन् ॥ ३६ ॥

महीपतस्त्वस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुका यदुर्वशालक्ष्मीः ।

श्रीमिल्लम तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्याजराजद्रुजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥

यः श्रीवर्धनमासमाद नगर क्षोणीपतेनलान्

यः प्रत्यण्डकभुभुते च समं दुष्टं व्यजेष्ट क्षणात् ।

यो वा मङ्गलवैष्टक क्षितिपति श्रीमिल्लण जग्निवान्

कल्याणाश्रियमपरावाप्य विदधे यो होसलेश व्यसुष्ट ॥ ३८ ॥

१ S. G. have लघिनः त्रिजग० २ समुद्रतो D2. ३ वना for वना S. G. ४ Here S. ends, and the following is based on G. and D2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect Manuscript. ५ प्रतापं G. ६ सद्धि मिहि G. ७ This word in G. must be some mistake as it has no significance here D 2 has न्यायु which also a mistake ८ नन्विनः for मन्त्रिनः G. ९ G. has मुल्लगि० १० स्वनिवान् is सनिवान् in G. ११ आहारि D 2. १२ मुल्लगि D 2. १३ लोपर० D 2. १४ स D2 for यः १५ रंसलान् for रतलान् G. १६ वाजिण for विजिण G. १७ G. has वम् and D 2. १८ for वसु.

स दण्डिकामण्डलमण्डयित्रीमकम्पसैपत्प्रभवेविंशतैः ।
 चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरिशाप्रसादसंसादितदिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥
 तत्रनु मदनमूर्तिः कार्तिकीचन्द्रसन्द-
 युनिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशाबकाशः ।
 अमवदधनिपालो जैत्रपालः करालः
 महत्^३रणरणरङ्गलङ्कृतुनुकम्बकः ॥ ४० ॥
 त्रींक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयजने प्रोदस्तशस्त्रकृत्ः
 भ्रगीभिर्जगतीपतीन्नुतवता येन प्रतापानले ।
 निहन्तु^४क्वाधिपतेः पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्य रौद्राङ्कनेः
 कृत्या पुरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धञ्जिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तस्मादभुवभिनवस्मरचाकृमूर्तिः
 कीर्तेः पठं स किल सिङ्घपादवभृपः ।
 उद्दण्डद्वोर्युगलगर्भितवैरिभिर-
 सीमन्तिनीवृत्तकैरवचण्डभातुः ॥ ४२ ॥
 येनानीयत मत्तवारण्यटा जज्जल्लभुमिभृतः
 कङ्कलादधनीपतेरपहृता येनाविराज्यध्विः ।
 येन क्षोणीध्वजुनोपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां
 येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः कागकृदुन्मीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥
 यद्गङ्गागिरिकेसरी विनिहन्तो लक्ष्मीधरः क्षमापति-
 र्यद्वाहाबलिभिः प्रसव्य रुरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।
 बल्लालक्षितिपालपालितभुवां सर्वापहारश्च यः
 श्रीसिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयने तद्वाञ्छलीलायितम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रनीतौ जानौ तनः सिंहनृपस्य पादौ ।
 तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात् कृष्णोतिविस्मयानमतिर्नृपेऽधुत् ॥ ४५ ॥
 येनाकारि विशालवीसलचक्रसंहारकालानले
 हेलोन्मूलितमूलराजसमैः निर्बिरमुर्ध्नीनलम् ।
 येनानेकमहाफलक्रतुकृता संवर्धमानोनिशं
 क्षीणः कालवशात्पुनस्तदृणतां धर्मोपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥
 तनः कृष्णो राजन्यभरतकृणीचाभरमक-
 नर्गकैरुक्तं विवि किमपि तेजः भिनवति ।

? In the MSS, we have प्रसादमासादितं, & G. has विंशतैः for अष्टकाशः. ३ रण-
 रंगस्तुंगदुर्ग, D 2. ४ तल्लिङ्ग in G. ५ रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of
 Rudradeva is meant. ६ कीर्तिः for मूर्तिः. D. 2. ७ This line is thus written in G.
 सीमन्तिनीवृत्तकैरवचण्डभासात्; also in D 2, except त् for last न्. < यद्गङ्गागिरि G. ९ विनि-
 कृतो G. १० लालित for पालित G. ११ यद्वालो G. १२ क्षीणे G.

परित्राणा ध्रुमेः समजनि जगज्जित्वरमहा^१
 महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्षमभूतदुतः ॥ ४७ ॥
 निष्कृषिपतिपालनूलनिचयप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो
 गर्मद्रुर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिडादम्भोलिडोर्विक्रमः ।
 हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कुणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट-
 क्षोणीपालविहम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥
 यो भोजदेवान्नुपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह बाहं मवमन्वसत्त्वः^३ ।
 सार्धं जनन्या सहजीविनेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार राज्यम्^४ ॥ ४९ ॥
 यद्रीयगन्धर्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठधृतदानाम्बुतराक्षिणीषु ।
 सोमः समुद्रद्वारपेठालोपि मयज्ज सैन्यैः सह कृङ्कणेशः ॥ ५० ॥
 सीमोल्लङ्घनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते
 कुद्वे वज्रधरेपि यः क्षितिधृतं मैनाकमन्नायन ।
 स्मरं स्मारममुष्य द्रुःसहभहःसंवेहद्रावानलं
 तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कृङ्कणपतिनिराक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥
 बाह्यानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेष्वातन्वतां धन्विना (तः)
 मानिल्लिङ्गचुपाङ्गणादनुविन बाह्यादिलीलामवत् ।
 यस्तस्यैव रणे जहार करिणान्त्यम्बवशद्वारिकान्
 यस्तस्याज वधुवधाद्रुपरतस्तद्भुजं कद्रमात् ॥ ५२ ॥

१ This महा is omitted in the MSS. since it is followed by another महा, and the copyists mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगनो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महो यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. २ चूल for तूत D 2. ३ मवमन्वसत्त्वः which is also the reading of D2, as an epithet of Mahadeva, involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मवमन्वसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva. ४ After this follow stanzas 14 and 19 of the next Prasasti in D2.

Rājaprasāsti II.

वंशो हिमाशोर्जयति प्रसिद्धो यस्मिन्स राजा यदुराविरासीत् ।
 बभूव यस्मिन्सुरायनारभारापहागय पुरा मुगारिः ॥ ३ ॥
 वशो तस्मिन्कंसाधिपस्य लोणीपालो भिल्लमः प्राबुरासीत् ।
 निन्ये नाश वैरिभूधृत्यनङ्गान्यस्थानेकद्वीपत्रीपः प्रतापः ॥ ४ ॥
 नम्रीमवत्सकलराजसमाजमौ शीमाणिक्चडीधितिविबोधितपात्रपद्मः ।
 उद्दामवर्षिपुस्तर्पविदक्तराजः श्रीभिल्लमादवनिपोजनि जैत्रपालः ॥ ५ ॥
 तस्मादभुवभिनवस्मरचाकृष्टतिः कीर्तेः पदं जगति सिद्धुण्देवभूपः ।
 उद्वण्डडोर्युगुलगर्भितवैरिर्वर्गसीमन्तिनीववनकैरवचण्डभानुः ॥ ६ ॥
 अथ सकलकलानामालयः शालनाय क्षिणितलमवतीर्णः पौर्णमासीशशीव ।
 अभवद्वनिपालो जेतुगिर्नाम तस्मादसमसमरधीरद्वेषिभूपालकाल ॥ ७ ॥
 स भूमिपालो जनयावभुव कृष्णं महादेवमहीपतिं च ।
 हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिश्चिन्तामणिं कीस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥ ८ ॥
 जन्मान्तरोत्थं परिवर्तयन्तौ ज्येष्ठारवत्वं किल कौतुकेन ।
 कृतावतारौ यदुराजवंशे प्रीत्या पुनस्ताविव रामकृष्णौ ॥ ९ ॥
 धर्मार्थाविव तौ साक्षात्पालयन्तौ बह्वधराश्च ।
 बिलोक्य लोकः सस्मार राजानौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ १० ॥
 कृष्यद्वाकृषाजिवाणगणक्षोणीषु जित्वा बह्वन्
 दासीकृत्य तथापराग्विहितवानन्यानरण्यौकसः ।
 इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजविजयव्याणरपारगत-
 श्रकं शक्रजयाय कृष्णानुपानिः स्वर्लोक्यव्रागतश्च ॥ ११ ॥
 अथ प्रभावानिशयेन लब्धं विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।
 त्रिविष्टपं शासति कृष्णभूपे भुवं महादेवनृपः प्रशान्ति ॥ १२ ॥
 नैलङ्गक्षितिपालतुलनिचयप्रक्षेपझञ्जानिलैः
 गर्जद्गर्जगर्भपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोधिक्क्रमः ।
 हेलोन्मूलितकौड्मणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट-
 क्षोणीपालविदम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ १३ ॥
 अयं शिशुखीशरणागतानां हन्ता महादेवनृपो न जानु ।
 इत्थं विनिश्चित्य ततोनिभीतैरन्ध्रैः पुग्न्धी निहिता नृपः च ॥ १४ ॥
 अत एव हि मालवश्वरः शिशुमेघ स्वपडे न्यवेष्टायत् ।
 स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपस्यति ॥ १५ ॥
 विषमसमरकर्तुः शत्रवो यस्य पाणौ
 मलयदहनधूमदयामधामानिभीमम् ।

१ युगल Kh. २ चन्द्रभानुः D & Kh. चण्डभानुः G. ३ यात्रां गत Kh. ४ तर्हि Kh.
 & G. ५ मोक्षेय Kh. क्षोक्षेय G. ६ चण्डानिलो Kh. & G. ७ लाटोद्भवक्षोणी Kh. लाटोद्भवः
 क्षोणी G. ८ इत्थं विनिश्चितयतो विभीतैराग्धैः Kh. विनिश्चिन्त्य D. ९ हिमाचलेधरं G. १० न
 पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ११ पाणैः Kh.

पृथुतरकरवालम्यालमालोकयन्तो
 भव शरणमितीमं मन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥
 यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठपुनत्रानाम्भुतरक्षिणीषु
 संमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कुमेशः ॥ १७ ॥
 एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुगडोरे^१ बौन्नेप्यस्ति कृतः प्रयामि ।
 चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेभ्यते वाडवमेव यानः ॥ १८ ॥
 आले माण्डतत्रण्डकापरितरः श्रीसेउणाख्यः परं
 वेडाः पेशलवेडाधुषणवचोमाधुर्यधुर्याकृतिः ।
 तस्मिन्नेवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यनाराभियां
 विभ्रान्तिः सुरगालिडीलशिखरस्यधि^२ ऋसौधावालः ॥ १९ ॥
 जगन्मयीगीतगुणप्रशस्तिः शास्त्रा समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
 श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानी सोयं महावेववृपो विभर्ति ॥ २० ॥
 कूर्बन्विभ्रुतिविस्तारैरिलावृत्तसमभियम् ।
 अधिनिष्ठति हेमाद्रिर्मा विबुधबान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥
 सा संपन्नविडं यशो बलमिदं सोयं प्रतापो महा-
 नेकेकं पृथिवीभूतो भुवि महावेवस्य लोकोत्तरम् ।
 यस्य श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं हेमाद्रिस्त्रिः पुरः
 प्रौढप्रानिभयपर्यमानविलसद्देशो भृशं शोभते ॥ २२ ॥
 इतिराजप्रशस्तिः ॥

१ सोम्यैः G २ ० राशेरन्तःपुरोप्यस्ति कृतः प्रयामि D. प्रयासि Kh. ३ सेवलाख्यः D. सेवणाख्यः
 Kh. The middle letter of the name in G. looks somewhat like उ, but there is
 little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like उ
 by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ.
 ४ स्पर्धालु D. ५ तस्य D ६ अहं for अयं D३.

THE WORK DONE BY
THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWARDS THE ELUCIDATION OF INDIAN HISTORY BY THE
STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONS.

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THERE is no record in the literature of the country of the political revolutions and changes of dynasties that India and the several provinces went through before the advent of Mahomedans. We have therefore to depend principally upon Inscriptions on stone and copper-plates, and on coins, for information on these points. The work of deciphering and translating Inscriptions on this side of India, was, up to 1872, performed by our Society. In that year the Indian Antiquary began to be published, and the Inscription-work was in a very large measure undertaken by it, and subsequently by the *Epigraphia Indica* which began to be issued on behalf of Government in 1891. The latest and most satisfactory work will, of course, be found in the pages of the last and also of the Indian Antiquary. But the work done by our Society has also been of great importance, and my object is now to place before you a summary of it.

MAURYA DYNASTY.

The earliest Inscriptions are those of the Maurya Prince, *Aśoka*, which go back to about the year 245 B. C. In our Presidency we find his Edicts inscribed on rock at Junagad. Good eye-copies of these were prepared by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob in 1843. These were published in the First Volume of our Journal. Nothing further has been done by our Society since, and most of the work was performed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and by scholars in Europe, and lastly by the Indian Antiquary and the *Epigraphia Indica*. In Volume XVII, however,

we have a copy of the Twelfth Edict of Aśoka at Sahabazgarhi, which had been missing before, and was newly discovered by Captain Deane, published with remarks by the French scholar M. Senart. And in Volume XXI, the latest issued by our Society, we have notes by D. R. Bhandarkar discussing certain points in the first two Rock Edicts and on the sect of Ājivikas referred to in the seventh pillar Edict, and in certain caves dedicated to it by Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. The work done in connection with these Inscriptions has by no means attained perfection yet, and it will require the attention of acute scholars for many a year to come.

THE KŚATRAPAS AND THE GUPTAS

Later in date are the Inscriptions of a dynasty of princes who called themselves Ksatrapas or Mahāksatrapas. This, in all likelihood, was a dynasty of foreign origin and belonged to the Śaka race. Like other foreigners who came in in later times, they adopted the current Hindu religion and Hindu manners. The name of the founder was Castana, which has a foreign look; but all his descendants adopted Hindu names such as Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasena, &c. They were probably worshippers of Śiva, since the name "Rudra" frequently occurs in their names. There are several Inscriptions of this dynasty, but the principal one is that of the third prince named Rudradāman. It records the repair of a dam to the Sudarśana lake near Junagad in the year 72 Śaka corresponding to 150 A. D. A copy of this Inscription was first published in Volume I in the year 1842 by Jacob and Westergaard. A better copy, with a transcript and translation, was published by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1862 in Volume VII. Another Inscription, dated 127 Śaka, of the Mahāksatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena, existing on a pillar at Jasdan in Kathiawar, was also published by the same scholar in Volume VIII.

There are several more inscriptions, though they do not appear in our journals; but the names and dates of the several princes of this dynasty have been chiefly determined by the legend on their coins, which are found in large numbers in Kathiawar. This dynasty was finally exterminated by Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta race about 310 Śaka or 388 A. D.; and this revolution is indicated by another Inscript-

tion about the Sudarśana lake mentioned above. The bank gave way again in the time of Skandagupta in the year of the Gupta era 136, corresponding to 454 A. D., and was repaired the next year. The two Inscriptions on the Sudarśana lake, therefore, briefly indicate three changes of dynasties from about the year 322 B. C. to 455 A. D. The dam is said to have been constructed originally by Candragupta Maurya through his Police Officer Pusyagupta, a Vaiśya. The lake was rendered still more efficacious 66 years later by Aśoka, his grandson. Then it gave way, as we have seen, in the time of Rudradāman about the year 150 A. D., and the second Inscription shows that it gave way again when the ruling prince was Skandagupta. Thus Kathiawar was first governed by the Mauryas, afterwards by the Ksatrapas, and at a later period by the Guptas. This Inscription of Skandagupta was for the first time fully translated and published with a facsimile and transcript by Dr. Bhau Daji in Volume VII of our Journal. Bhau Daji also published a revised translation of another record of the same prince inscribed on a Lāt, or pillar at Bhitari, in Volume X, and, later, another copy and translation of the same were published in 1885 by Pandit Bhagvanlal. This is all that our journals contain of the records of the Gupta dynasty

THE VALABHĪ DYNASTY.

A General of the name of Bhatvārka was appointed—in all likelihood, by one of the later Gupta princes—to rule over Kathiawar in the last quarter of the fifth century ; but about the end of that century and immediately after, when the Gupta dynasty broke up in consequence of the incursions of the Huns and from other causes, the rulers of Valabhī declared themselves independent and ruled over a large part of the country, the limits of which, however, have not yet been determined. In Volume III of our Journal we have a grant of Dharasena II, the seventh prince, and another of Śīlāditya II translated by the Rev P Anderson in 1851. In Volume X we have a transcript of a grant of Dharasena I with remarks on the numerals in the Valabhī plates published by me. In Volume XI we have two grants of Śīlāditya, the fifteenth prince, and of Śīlāditya I published by V N Mandlik. In Volume XX Mr Jackson of the Indian Civil Service has published a grant of Mahārāja Dronasimha, the third of the princes, which is important in this

respect, that it is the earliest hitherto found, and is dated 183 of the Gupta-Valabhi era, corresponding to 501 A. D. As Dropasimha was the third prince, the date of this grant enables us to fix the foundation of this dynasty in the last quarter of the fifth century. There is also another grant published by the same scholar of of Dhruvasena II, bearing the date 320 of the Gupta era.

No other Inscriptions relating to Kathiawar or Gujarat occur in the journals of our Society till about the thirteenth century. In 1844 Wathen published an Inscription which exists at Somanātha—Pattana alluding to the construction of the temple. Wathen's translation was very faulty, and the record was again translated by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume II. The latest Calukya prince mentioned therein is Bhimadeva II, and the date is 1272 Vikrama, corresponding to 1215 A. D. There is also an Inscription of princes of the Cūdāsama family, who ruled in Girnar from about the tenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century. It refers to a prince of the name of Mandalika.

ŚĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY.

Turning to Mahārāstra, the oldest Inscriptions we find are those which mention princes of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana dynasty. They exist in the Nasik cave temples, the Karli cave temples and at Nanaghat, Kanheri, Bhaja, Junnar and Kuda. In the period to which they refer, the earlier or Pali Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, and the caves were constructed as rest-houses for the wandering mendicants, and places of worship, for all devotees of Buddhism. The earliest of these Inscriptions is that in which Kṛsnarāja belonging to that dynasty is mentioned. It occurs in a small cave at Nasik. Copies of the Inscriptions at Kanheri, Nasik, Karli, Bhaja, Junnar and Kuda, prepared by Lieut. Brett, were published in 1854 in Volume V of our Journal. Those at Kanheri and Nasik were translated from Lieut. Brett's copies by the Rev Dr. Stevenson. In his time, however, Pali studies had scarcely begun, and consequently his translations are misleading and quite unreliable. In Volume VI we have excellent eye-copies of the Kanheri and other Inscriptions by E.W. West, and in Volume VII of those at Nasik by the same gentleman and his brother, A. A. West. These copies I used for my translation published in the Transactions of the International Oriental Congress

of 1874. A good many years afterwards Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bühler published their own translations of them. Finally we have copies of the Bedse Inscriptions by A. A. West in Volume VIII, and in the Inscription published in Vol. XII, the name of Madharīputa Śirisakasena, a Śātavāhana, was brought to light by Pandit Bhagvanlal. Papers on the Sanskrit numerals in the cave Inscriptions and on those occurring in the Nanaghat Inscriptions have been published by Dr. Bhaṇu Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal in Volumes VIII and XII, respectively.

THE KṢATRAPA NAHAPĀNA.

The Śātavāhanas established their sovereignty over Mahārāstra in the first century before Christ; but they were displaced about the end of the first century after by a prince of the name of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna. The Inscriptions of his son-in-law, Usavadāta, the son of Dinika, occur at Nasik and Karli; and one, of a minister of Nahapāna, at Junnār. This Nahapāna is called Mahākṣatrapa and appears to have belonged to the same race which ruled over Kāthiawar and Ujjayini, i. e., the Śaka race. But there is no trace of a successor of Nahapāna having ruled over Mahārāstra, and it is expressly stated in the large Inscription at Nasik that Khakhārāta's family was exterminated by Gautamīputra. This Khakhārāta is Kṣaharāta, which was another name of Nahapāna.

The Śakas were driven out about 133 A. D. by the Śātavāhanas. The names of the princes of this family occurring in our Inscriptions are:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) Kṛṣṇarāja | (2) Śātakarni, |
| (3) Gautamīputra-Śātakarni | (4) Vāsisthīputra Puṣumayi, |
| (5) Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña | (6) Vāsisthīputra Catusparṇa |
| Śātakarni | (Caturapana) Śātakarni, |
| (7) and Madharīputra Śakasena. | |

The Śātavāhanas are mentioned in Puranic Genealogies by the name of Āndhrabhrtyas. The names of all the princes mentioned above, except the last two, occur therein.

The Śātavāhanas seem to have ruled over Mahārāstra till about the end of the second century; and the next dynasty, Inscriptions of which we have in abundance, was founded about the

beginning of the fifth century. What princes ruled over the country during the intervening period of three hundred years, we do not know for certain. Very probably a family of the name of Traikūtaka ruled over it and a portion of Gujarat during this interval, and used an era which is the same as that used by the rulers of Cedi, the country about Jabbalpore and Chattisgad. Its initial date is 249 A. D. A copper-plate grant found in a Caitya in one of the caves at Kanheri, dated in the 245th year of that dynasty, has been published in Volume V of our Journal; and another by a prince of the name of Dharasena, issued from the victorious camp of the Traikūtakas, dated 207, is published in Volume XVI. These years correspond to 494 and 456 A. D. There was always a close connection between the rulers of Cedi, called in later times Haihayas and Kalacuris and the Cālukyas and Rāstrakūtas of Mahārāstra. The Haihayas may have ruled over this part of the country also in earlier times, and afterwards been driven out by the Early Cālukyas.

THE EARLY CĀLUKYA DYNASTY.

Now we come to the Early Cālukya dynasty. We have in Volume II a grant of Visnuvardhana, brother of Pulakeśi II, who began to reign in 610 A. D., was on the throne in 634, and was seen by Hioun Tshang in 639. In the same Volume, we have another of Nāgavardhana, son of Jayasimha, another brother of the great Pulakeśi. In 1851 General Sir Le Grand Jacob published a facsimile, transcript and translation of a grant of Vijayāditya, the ninth prince of the dynasty who ruled from 696 A. D. to 733 A. D., and of another of Vijayabhattārikā, the queen of Candrāditya, the eldest son of Pulakeśi II, both found at Nerur, a village in the Savantwadi State, and a third found at Kochare and issued by the same lady. These grants contain the genealogy of the family from the first prince Jayasimha to the reigning sovereign. A grant of Satyāśrayadhruvarājendravarman issued from Revatidvīpa under the direction of the Cālukya Lord, dated 532 Śaka, has been published by K. T. Telang in Volume X. In Volume IX, Dr. Bhau Daji has noticed the photographs of the Inscriptions at Dharwar and Mysore. One of these is the celebrated Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśi II, dated 556 Śaka, corresponding to 634 A. D. Another is an Inscription in a cave-temple dedicated to Visnu at Badami

by Maṅgalīśa the fifth prince. In Volume XIV a revised transcript and translation of Nāgavardhana's grant, mentioned above, with remarks containing a discussion of the chronology of the Early Cālukyas, and giving the correct date of the Aihole Inscription, have been published by me.

A branch of this Early Cālukya dynasty was established in Gujarat, and the capital of that branch appears to have been Navasari. A grant of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja of this branch, dated 421, either of the Gupta or Cedi era, has been published in Volume XVI, and another of Buddhavarṣa of the same branch, uncle of the Vikramāditya of the main branch, in Volume XX. In Volume XVI Dr. Fleet has published a grant of Ādityavarman, son of Pulakeśi II, three of Vikramāditya I, and one of Vinayāditya, the eighth prince of the dynasty. Upon the whole, it may be stated that our journals contain very valuable information about this dynasty.

THE RĀSTRAKŪTA DYNASTY.

The last prince of the Early Cālukya dynasty, Kirtivarman, was defeated and dethroned by Dantidurga who belonged to the Rāstrakūta race. This Rāstrakūta family that had been ruling over some province for at least five generations before, acquired supreme sovereignty in Mahārāstra in the time of Dantidurga. His grant found at Samanagad and dated Śaka 675, corresponding to 753 A. D., was translated by Bal Shastri Jambhekar and published in 1847 in our Volume II. Then in Volume III, we have a grant of Govinda IV, the fifteenth prince, dated Śaka 855 or 933 A. D., found at Sangali and translated by General Jacob. In Volume XVIII, I published an important grant, bearing date 862 Śaka, corresponding to 940 A. D., by Kṛṣṇa III, one of the most powerful princes of the family found at Deoli near Wardha. The Navasari plates issued by Indra III, the thirteenth prince, dated Śaka 836, translated by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, have been published in the same Volume.

In Volume X Dr. Fleet gives an Inscription, in which Prthvīrāma, a feudatory chief, owing allegiance to Kṛṣṇarāja, is mentioned as having constructed a Jaina temple at Sugandhavarti, and assigned some land for its support in Śaka 897, corresponding to 975 A. D., and another which records the building of a Jaina temple at

Mulgund in the Śaka year 824, corresponding to 902 A. D. The Kṛṣṇarāja here spoken of is Kṛṣṇa II. In the First Volume a grant found at Kharepatan was published in 1843 by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. The grant was issued by a feudatory chief ruling over Southern Konkan. In the beginning the whole genealogy of the Rāstrakūṭas, from the first prince Dantidurga to the last Kakkala, is given, and it is a valuable document, and has enabled us to correct many a mistake in some later grants and conjectures of modern scholars.

A branch of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty was established in Gujarat, similar to the one of the Cālukya dynasty noticed before. A grant of Karka I of this branch, deciphered, transcribed and translated by D. R. Bhandarkar, has been published in Volume XXII. The date of the grant is 738 Śaka or 816 A. D. A grant of Abhimanyu belonging to a Rāstrakūṭa family, which appears to be certainly different from the family that ruled over Mahārāstra, has been published in Volume XVI by Pandit Bhagvanlal.

THE LATER CĀLUKYA DYNASTY.

The last prince Kakkala of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty was vanquished and dethroned by Tailapa who belonged to the Cālukya family, and thus became the founder of the dynasty known by the name of the Later Cālukyas. This was an important dynasty; but we have not many documents referring to it in our Journals. In Dr. Bhau Daji's notice of the photographs of the Inscriptions at Dharwar and Mysore (referred to above) in Volume IX, we have mention of an Inscription containing the name of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, the sixth prince, in which is recorded the grant by his feudatory Mayūravarmān. In Volume X Dr. Fleet gives an Inscription which records the grant of land by Śāntivarman, a feudatory of Tailapadeva, to a Jaina temple he had constructed at Sugandhavarti in Śaka 902 or 980 A. D. This prince was Tailapa, the founder of this dynasty. Another, published by the same scholar, mentions Kārtavīrya who is represented as a feudatory of Bhuvanaikamalla; a third records the grant of land by Sena, a dependent of Tribhuvanamalla, but the immediate servant of his son, Jayakarna, in the Śaka year 1009, and a fourth, a grant by Kārtavīrya, a feudatory of the same monarch, in 1019 Śaka. He also notices an Inscription in which Anka, owing allegiance to

Trailokyamalla, is represented to have made a grant in the year 970 Śaka, and Kārtavīrya, in 1009 Śaka.

Bhuvanaikamalla was the Cālukya prince Someśvara II, who reigned from about 1069 A. D. to 1076 A. D.; Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II (1076-1127), the patron of Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*; and Trailokyamalla was Someśvara I, who reigned from 1040 A. D. to about 1069 A. D.

In Volume XI Dr. Fleet has published Inscriptions which record grants by chieftains of the Sindavamsa or Sinda race, who were feudatories of the Cālukya Emperors Bhuvanaikamalla, Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III, and Nuramadi Taila the great-grandson of Vikramāditya. In these grants occur the names of all the Cālukya princes from Jayasimha, (the grandson of Tailapa, and the fourth prince of the dynasty) to the reigning monarch.

This family had many offshoots, and one of these ruled over Southern Konkan and had Sangameshvar as its capital. In Volume II, we have an Inscription of a prince belonging to one of these, and in Volume IV we have another, dated Śaka 1182, corresponding to 1260 A. D., found in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. The donor mentioned in it is Keśava Mahājani, minister of a chief of the name of Kāinvadeva. Probably, Kāinvadeva belonged to the same dynasty as that which had Sangameshvar for its capital.

THE KALACŪRI DYNASTY.

The later Cālukyas were followed by the Kalacūris. A grant of Soma, the son of Bijjana, the founder of the dynasty, dated 1096 Śaka, corresponding to 1174 A. D., has been published by me with a transcript and translation in Volume XVIII.

THE YĀDAVA DYNASTY.

The Kalacūri dynasty had a very precarious existence of about 25 years; and it was followed by the Yādavas, who had before been subordinate Chiefs dependent on the Later Cālukyas who were sovereigns of Kalyāṇa. Of the seven ancient Inscriptions noticed by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in the article published in Volume II of our Journal in 1845, Inscription No. II refers to

Mahādeva, the last but one prince of the Yādava dynasty. Its date is 1187 Śaka, corresponding to 1265 A. D.; and No. III mentions a grant made by an officer of Kannaradeva, which was the Prakrit form of Kṛṣṇadeva, his name. It is dated 1172 Śaka or 1250 A. D. No. IV refers to the last prince Rāmadeva or Rāmācandra, and is dated 1194 Śaka. In Volume IX we have an Inscription of Kṛṣṇa, the fourth prince referred to above, dated 1171 Śaka and published by Dr. Fleet; and in Volume XV that same scholar has published a grant of Singhana, the third prince, dated 1160 Śaka or 1238 A. D. This was the last dynasty that ruled over what might be called the Maratha Empire. The last prince, Rāmadeva or Rāmācandra, was defeated by Allauddin, and the Mahomedans soon afterwards established themselves in the Deccan.

Several of the Nasik and Karli caves are monuments of the first or Śātavāhana family and of the Mahāksatrapa Nahapāna. The cave dedicated to Viṣṇu at Badami and some temples at Pattadakal and other places in the Kanarese country, are monuments of the second dynasty noticed above, that of the Early Cālukyas, and the temple of Kailāsa carved out of a solid rock, of the third, viz., that of the Rāstrakūtas, the second prince of which, Kṛṣṇa I, caused it to be excavated. The capital of the first dynasty was Paithan, of the second Badami, of the third Malkhed, of the fourth or Later Cālukyas, Kalyāna, and of the fifth viz., that of the Yādavas, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad. It is curious to observe that all these, with the exception of Badami, are situated in the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and have no connection with the main Maratha country. It also deserves observation that Mahārāstra has always been politically connected with the Kanarese country, though the latter had petty chiefs of its own. It is also worthy of notice that two of our dynasties established themselves in Gujarat as the modern Marathas have done.

THE ŚILĀHĀRA DYNASTY.

Besides the dynasties mentioned above that ruled over the whole Maratha Empire, we have Inscriptions of three branches of subordinate or feudatory chiefs who belonged to a family which was called Śilāra or Śilāhāra. They trace their origin to a mythical personage, named Jimūtavāhan^a, who is mentioned in

Buddhistic books as a Bodhisattva or a person whose predominant feeling is benevolence.

THE KOLHAPUR ŚILĀHĀRAS

Of the three branches, one ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj and Karhad. It was composed of fifteen princes. This was the latest of the three dynasties. We have an Inscription of the last prince Bhojadeva II published in Volume III of the Literary Society in 1821 by Dr Taylor. In Volume II of our Journal there are notices by Bal Gangadhar Shastri of Inscriptions, one of which, dated 1065 Śaka, refers to Vijayaditya, the fourteenth prince; another, dated 1058 Śaka, to Gandarāditya, the thirteenth; and a third to Vijayāditya already mentioned. In Volume XIII we have a facsimile, transcript and translation of a copper-plate grant of Gandarāditya, dated 1032 Śaka, corresponding to 1110 A. D., published by Pandit Bhagvanlal. This dynasty appears to have been founded in the time of the Rāstrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III and exterminated by the Yādava king Siṃghana, who subdued the last prince Bhoja.

THE NORTH KONKAN ŚILĀHĀRAS.

The dynasty of the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan was founded in the time of Amoghavarṣa I, the Rāstrakūta prince. He assigned that province to Pullaśakti and to his son Kapardin belonging to that family, as we see from Inscriptions occurring in the Kanheri Caves, copies of which, prepared by West, have been published in Volume VI of our Journal. Two of these Inscriptions were again generally inspected by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and his versions of the portions he saw, are given in Volume XIII. The dates occurring in them are 775 and 779 of the Śaka era. There is a facsimile, transcript and translation of a grant by Aparāditya, one of the latest princes, dated Śaka 1049 or 1127 A. D., in Volume XXI, published by Professor K. B. Pathak. An Inscription on a stone found near the old Government House at Parel, which is now in the Society's Museum, has been published by Pandit Bhagvanlal in Volume XII. It records the assignment of a portion of the revenue of a certain part in the village of Maholi in Salsette, which was in the possession of Ananta Prabhu Pai, for the worship of Vaidyanātha Deva by a king of the name of Aparāditya in the month of Māgha in the year 1109 Śaka,

corresponding to 1187 A. D. One of these two Aparādityas, probably the later one, was the writer of the Commentary on the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya, which is so famous. This dynasty was put an end to, a short time after 1260 A. D., by the Yādava prince Mahādeva who vanquished Someśvara, the last ruler of Northern Konkan.

THE SOUTH KONKAN ŚILĀHĀRAS.

The third branch of the Śilāhāra family was established in Southern Konkan in the time of Kṛṣṇa I of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era and the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era. The genealogy of this branch up to Śaka year 930, corresponding to 1008 A. D., is given in the Kharepatan grant published in Volume I of our Journal by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. The subsequent history of this branch we do not know

THE KADAMBA DYNASTY.

Volumes IX and XII bring before us another line of princes and chiefs, viz., that of the Kadambas. Dr. Fleet gives in the first, seven Inscriptions (No. 1—7) of princes, beginning with Kakusthavarman, and Mr. K. T. Telang in the second, three, the names of the princes in which are different. But all the records speak of the princes as sons of Hārīti and of the Mānavyagotra, and as worshippers of Mahāsena and the Mātṛs or goddesses. The Early Cālukya princes are so described in their plates. Again, Dr. Fleet gives in his first article in Volume IX one Inscription of another set of Kadamba kings or chiefs, and seven in his second article. The names here are different from those in the other Inscriptions. Of these the second chief Jayakeśi is spoken of in the grants as having made Gopapattana or Goa his capital. His grandson Jayakeśi II married Mañjalamahādevī, the daughter of Vikramāditya II (1076 A. D.—1126 A. D.) of the Later Cālukya dynasty, and this circumstance was considered as having conferred so much dignity on the family that it is repeated in all the grants.

The chiefs are also described as Banavāsipuravarādhisvara, i. e., lords of the great city of Banavāsi, and, like many such expressions, it means that they were descended from a line of princes who reigned gloriously at Banavāsi. And we know from other

sources that Banavāsi in North Kanara was ruled over by princes of the Kadamba race. The princes, therefore, who are described in terms similar to those used in the case of the Early Cālukyas were the rulers of Banavāsi, and were contemporaries or even predecessors of the Early Cālukyas. They were adherents of the Jainas, and their grants are made to Jaina temples. The later Kadambas of Goa were an offshoot of the original Banavāsi Kadambas, as the Konkan Cālukyas were of the dynasty that ruled over Kalyāna and were adherents of Brahmanism.

In Volume XII are published three copper-plate grants of princes of the Vijayanagara dynasty by Dr. Fleet. One, dated 1276 Śaka, was made by Bukkarāja, the founder of the dynasty; another by Harihara, his son and successor, and is dated 1301 Śaka; and the third, dated 1434 Śaka, is by Kṛṣṇarāya. In Volume IV is published a grant in which Mādhava, Harihara's Viceroy at Jayantipura, which is to be probably identified with Banavāsi, is represented to have besieged Goa, killed hosts of Turuskas, probably Mahomedans, and captured the place. After his death Narahari was appointed Viceroy. Mādhava who is spoken of as the Great Counsellor, and the Ācārya who introduced the path marked down by the Upanisads, granted the village of Kuchara as a means of subsistence to 25 families of Brahmins. The boundaries of the village were :—to the east, the village of Pāta, to the south, the village of Mhāpana, to the west, the sea, and to the north, the village of Paraulya. All these villages are to the south of Malwan and north of Vengurla, and the village Kuchara, to which, in honour of Mādhava the Viceroy, the name Mādhavapuri was given, is probably the present village of Kochare. It thus appears that the territory of the Vijayanagara kings extended at that time to Vengurla and Malwan. The grant was made in Śaka 1313, corresponding to 1391 A. D., by Mādhava, but appears to have been carried out by his successor, Narahari Mādhava, called Mahāpradhāna, who is represented as Bukka's Viceroy, governing the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand, in an Inscription, dated Śaka 1290 = 1368 A. D., existing at Banavāsi.

In Volume VII, Dr. Bhau Daji has published Inscriptions of the Yākātaka dynasty occurring at Ajanta. In Volume XIX, we have a facsimile, transcript and translation of an Inscription in

the temple of Āmranātha near Kalyan by the same scholar. He read the date as 782 Śaka, but in a revised transcript and translation of the same Inscription by Pandit Bhagvanlal, published in Volume XII, it is read as 982.

In Volume I, we have a very valuable record of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. It is inscribed on a stone found at Nagpur, and was translated by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. It has recently been edited by Kielhorn and published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

In Volume XXI, we have an article by D. R. Bhandarkar. The names of princes of Kanauj occurring in certain Inscriptions on stones at Gwalior, Peheva and Siyadoni are Rāmabhadra, Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla, each preceding one being father of the succeeding. The names occurring in certain copper-plate grants are the same, with the exception of the last, and the order is the same. The princes also are represented as issuing their charters from Mahodaya which is another name of Kanauj; and still they were considered as belonging to a different dynasty from that of Kanauj. Mr Bhandarkar after an examination of the arguments advanced, comes to the conclusion that the princes are the same as those of the stone Inscriptions, and he also explains the difference as to the last name.

In another paper in the same Volume he discusses the question of the race of these kings, and concludes that they were the Gūriaras against whom our Rāstrakūta princes, Dhruva, Govinda III, Kṛṣṇa II, and most of the others, were at war. Both dynasties were equally powerful. This Gūriara dynasty was established at Kanauj about the middle of the eighth century, since its second prince Vatsarāja was a contemporary of our Dhruva Nirupama, and, according to a statement in the *Jaina Harivamsa*, was reigning in Śaka 705, corresponding to 783 A. D. Mahendrapāla, the patron and pupil of the poet Rājasekhara, was the great-grandson of Vatsarāja, and was on the throne in 903 A. D. and 907 A. D. Rājasekhara traces the pedigree of his patron to the race of Raghu or the Solar race while he was a Gūriara and a foreigner, though naturalized and become a thorough Hindu.

I subjoin a list of the remaining miscellaneous Inscriptions.

Vol. I, pp. 96-103.—A record of the benefactions of the Emperor Akbar at Palitana to the Jains and of the goldsmith Tejapal.

Do. p. 259.—Copy of an Inscription found on a tablet at Nagpur.

Vol. X, p. 19.—Copper-plate grant of Gūrjara Dadda II, son of Jayabhata, 417 Śaka, by R. G. Bhandarkar.

Do. p. 46.—Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamakond, dated 1064 Śaka, a transcript and translation of—, by Bhau Daji.

Do. p. 63.—A revised transcript and translation of the Inscription on the Delhi iron pillar, by Bhau Daji.

Vol. XIV, p. 71.—A few notes on the Inscriptions in Kutch, by V. N. Mandlik

Vol. XVI, p. 114.—A Godāvari copper-plate grant of the Rājā Prthvīmūla, by Fleet.

Do. p. 357.—An Inscription from Buddha Gayā of King Aśokavalla, dated 51 of the era of Lakṣmana Sena.

Do. p. 378.—An Inscription from Kota of Śivagana, dated 796, of the Lords of Malwa.

Vol. XVII, p. 1.—A Buddhistic Sanskrit Inscription from Java, mentioning the construction of a temple of Tārā in the Śaka year 700, by R. G. Bhandarkar.

Vol. XIX, p. 348.—An Inscription on the three gateways at Ahmedabad, 1868 Samvat, or 1812 A. D., of the time of Fattesingh Gaikwar, containing an order for removing a grievance as regards inheritance.

Vol. XX, p. 106.—Inscription on three bricks received from a place 200 miles from Mandalay in Burma, consisting of the usual Buddhistic formula ये धर्मा, &c. [by R.G. Bhandarkar].

Do. p. 211.—A grant from the Broach District by Samgasimha, a feudatory, bearing the date 292, probably of the Cedi era, by Mr. Jackson.

Do. p. 269.—A Kusana stone-Inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era, by D. R. Bhandarkar.

A DEVANĀGARĪ TRANSCRIPT, TRANSLATION AND DATE OF A VALABHĪ COPPER-PLATE

AND A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURED DATES ON THE
GRANTS OF THE VALABHĪ DYNASTY.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X, 1871-74, pages 66ff.]

This paper was read on the 11th of January 1872 before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was published in the Journal of that Society. The Translation and Remarks at the end of the paper were published in the first number of the Indian Antiquary, bearing date January 5, 1872.—N. B. U.

The Valabhi copper-plate, a Devanāgarī transcript of which I submit to the Society to-day was put into my hands by Mr. Burgess about two months ago. My translation of it, with remarks, has already appeared in the first number of the Indian Antiquary.¹ I will therefore to-day proceed to the consideration of its date, and of those of all the Valabhi plates hitherto discovered and published.

In this copper-plate the date is given in figures, thus २०५. The first symbol consists of a vertical line having at the lower end a circular loop with a point coming out on the right, and at the top a stroke consisting of two small curves on the left and a small curvilinear stroke on the right. This symbol, more or less modified, is often met with in the Valabhi copper-plates and the Surāstra coins. The second consists of a circle with a smaller one touching it internally, and the last resembles the modern Devanāgarī ५ six.

Before endeavouring to interpret this date, it must be premised that the value of the ancient Sanskrit numerals does not depend on position. Each symbol has a fixed value wherever it may be placed. The first figure in the present case has always been understood to signify three hundred, from the evidence of

1 It is published in this Volume immediately after this paper.—N. B. U.

Dr. Burn's Cālukya and Gūjara plates. But subsequently, when it was found on the coins of fourteen or fifteen different kings of the Sāh dynasty, a doubt was thrown on the received interpretation. Mr. Thomas, on a careful observation of the numerals on these coins, found a variation in the form and number of the side-strokes, from which he gathered that the value of the symbol was, in some manner unknown to him, modified by these strokes.¹ But the exact signification of these was given by our learned Vice-President, Dr Bhau Daji. In his paper² on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals he tells us that the symbol without the right-hand strokes represents one hundred; with one stroke it signifies two hundred; and with two, three hundred. Dr. Bhau's conclusions are based chiefly on the numerals found in the Nasik Cave-Inscriptions. I have carefully examined Mr. West's lithographs³ of these, and I am convinced of the truth of this view. In the same Inscription (No. 25) the numbers 'one hundred' and 'two hundred' occur in words as well as figures. The figures are ॥

and ॥ the first having no side-stroke, while the second has one. In the same manner, in No. 16, the words corresponding to 'two thousand' and 'three thousand' occur in the fifth and fourth lines, and along with them the symbol for a thousand with one side-stroke in the first case and with two in the second. In other places also we find the same, so that there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt as to the truth of Dr Bhau's theory. It is also confirmed by the numerals on the Surāstra coins.⁴

The symbol for one hundred in the present copper-plate has besides the two side-strokes, a circular loop at the lower end. I first thought that this represented another stroke on the left-hand side, so that the whole expressed four hundred. But from the Nasik inscriptions⁵ I find that the way of representing four hundred or four thousand was by annexing the figure equivalent to four to the symbol for a hundred or a thousand. And in the

1 JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 35 note.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, No. 21.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22.

4 Mr. Justice Newton's paper, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22 pp. 27, 28.

5 Mr. West's lithographs Nos. 17 and 18.

facsimile of one of Dr. Burn's Gūjara copper-plates given by Prof. Dowson,¹ in which the date 385 is given in words as well as figures, I find that the first symbol has a loop similar to that in the present plate. There can, therefore, be no doubt, I think, that the first figure here represents three hundred. The loop is merely a flourish.

The endeavours to decipher the figures in the place of tens have not been so successful. We know the symbols for ten, forty, eighty, and ninety; but of the rest we do not know some at all, and have but an imperfect knowledge of the others. Dr. Bhau quotes an Inscription from Karla in which a symbol somewhat resembling the second figure in the present plate is given, with its value stated in words, as 'twenty.' Other considerations also show that the figure must be thus interpreted. It occurs twice in the Nasik Inscription No. 25. In both places Dr. Stevenson takes it to be equal to twenty,² but Dr. Bhau attaches that value to it in one place, and in the other the symbol appears to have escaped his attention, since he gives in his paper on the Numerals³ the value of the second figure in it only, which is four. The figure occurs in that Inscription at Nasik which is considered to be a deed of sale, and the deed is there said to have been executed at the orders of Gotamiputra in the year represented by the symbols. In another Inscription (No. 26), in which Gotamiputra's exploits are enumerated, his wife assigns the cave in which it occurs for the use of religious mendicants in the 19th year Padumāyi. Both these things, therefore, took place in his reign, and very shortly after each other. The symbol under consideration cannot have been intended for ten; for that number is represented by a totally different mark. It stands therefore, very likely, for 20. The same figure occurs on a coin of Viśva Sāh, the 15th king in Mr. Newton's⁴ list. The second figure on his other coins is that which we know represents 10, and the whole date appears to be 217. The former symbol, therefore, must stand for 20.

1 JRAS, Vol. I, New Series.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. V, p. 43.

3 [JBBRAS, Vol. VIII,] p. 228, under Cave No. 23.

4 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 28, and Mr. Thomas's paper on the Sāh Dynasty, JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 59.

The last figure in our grant resembles, as I have said, our modern 9, and that has generally been considered its value. The symbol occurs in one of Dr. Bhau's quotations¹ with the word षड्, signifying six, after it. The date of the present grant is therefore, I feel sure, 326.

This grant is by Dharasena IV, the great grandson of Dhara-sena II, as I have shown in the genealogical table.² But the figured date of the copper-plate of this last monarch, deciphered and translated by Mr. Wathen, is usually considered to refer to the fourth century of some era. Mr. Prinsep³ and Mr. Thomas⁴ interpret it as equal to 300 + some undetermined quantity. The Rev. Philip Anderson⁵ thinks it to be 330. Dr. Bhau, in his paper on the Numerals, gives five dates with their facsimiles from Valabhi plates. None of these latter resembles the date in any of the three grants I know of, but the one which is somewhat like that in Mr. Wathen's plate, is interpreted by him as 332. In the same Volume of the Journal, however, in another paper,⁶ he assigns to Dharasena II, the dates 322 and 326, which, by the way, are not to be met with in the former list. If, then, I have interpreted the date in the present copper-plate correctly, and if, at the same time, Mr. Anderson and Dr. Bhau are right in their readings of the dates of Dharasena I, it follows that Dharasena IV reigned at Valabhi four or six years before his great-grandfather, or in the same year as he, or only four years after him. And even if we assign to the odd number of the date in Mr. Wathen's plate, the least possible value, viz. 12, and consider the date to be 312, fourteen years is too short a time for five reigns, or for the great-grandson to come to the throne after his father, uncle, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The supposition that the eras used by the two monarchs may have been different is, I think, unreasonable. One of two conclusions then must follow. Either my reading of the date of the present grant is wrong; or Mr. Anderson, Dr.

1 Sanskrit Numerals, [JBBRAS, Vol. VIII,] p. 229 under Cave No. 4.

2 See the Remarks at the end of this paper [N. B. U.]

3 JASB, Vol. VII, p. 349.

4 Paper on the Sāh Dynasty, [JRAS, Vol. XII,] p. 5, note.

5 JBBRAS, Vol. III, p. 216.

6 [JBBRAS, Vol. VIII,] p. 245.

28 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

Bhau and other antiquarians, have assigned a wrong date to Dharasena II.

Fortunately, in this difficulty, Mr. Wathen's copper-plate happens to be in the Museum of this Society. On examining the date, which is ७७८ it will be found that the figure representing hundreds has only one side-stroke. And even in Mr. Wathen's lithographed copy given in the Fourth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, and in Mr. Prinsep's table of the numerals in the Seventh Volume, the symbol has one stroke. All subsequent writers, however, and even Mr. Prinsep in another place¹ add one more. It thus appears that the first figure in the grant of Dharasena II is equivalent to 200. But this does not altogether remove the difficulty. The effect of this new reading would be to throw back Dharasena II by the whole century, if the other two figures were to have the same value as that hitherto assigned to them. And I shall presently show that a century's interval between Dharasena II, and his great-grandson would be too long. The question then is, what value should be assigned to the other two figures, which are ७८. Our knowledge of the symbols for tens is, as I have observed before, imperfect. Something like the second figure in Mr. Wathen's plate occurs in Dr Bhau's quotation from the Abhira² Inscription at Nasik, and he interprets it as 2. But I do not find the figure in Mr. West's³ lithograph of the Inscription; and instead of that, there is after the word २ (two), the usual symbol of that number, viz. two short horizontal strokes. In the table given by him in the same paper I again observe the symbol opposite to the number 20.⁴ But Dr. Bhau has given no authority for assigning that value to it, and I am inclined to think that it is a misprint for the figure which has now been interpreted as 20. In fixing the value of the symbol under consideration, it should be borne in mind that the same minister, Skandabhata, executed the grant of Dharasena II, and also the present one.

Dr Burn's copper-plates have acquainted us with the symbols

1 JASE, Vol. VII, p. 349.

2 Paper on the Numerals [as above quoted].

3 No 15, l. 10.

4. [JBBRAS, Vol. VII,] p 321.

for eighty and ninety; and from the Nasik and other Cave-Inscriptions we have been able to determine the values of three more, viz. those for ten, twenty, and forty.¹ The figure in Mr. Wathen's copper-plate does not resemble any of these five. It must therefore be interpreted as thirty, fifty, sixty, or seventy. If these values were assigned to it successively, the date would be 232, 252, 262, or 272 (the last figure, consisting of two simple strokes, clearly representing 2), and Skandabhata's tenure of office would be 94, 74, 64, or 54 years. The last number must be accepted as the most probable, and it thus determines the date to be 272, and hence the symbol must be understood to represent seventy. A tenure of 54 years would not be too long for any individual holder of an hereditary office, though there would be a very great degree of improbability in the supposition of each of three or four members of a family holding it successively for as long a period. George III reigned for 60 years, but the reigns of George IV and William IV were very short. The symbol the value of which I have been discussing bears a sufficient resemblance, making allowance for the difference of time, to that for seventy in Rudradāman's Gīrnar Inscription, in which the date 72 is given in words and figures. Mr. Prinsep's transcript² of it is, 𑀧, General Jacob's and Mr.

Westergaard's³ 𑀧 and Dr. Bhau's 𑀧. Dr. Bhau's⁴ differs from the other two in having a stroke on the right-hand side, and this makes it look rather like 40. Of the three, it resembles the figure in Mr. Wathen's plate the least, the other two being more like it.

Mr. Wathen's second copper-plate is also in the Museum of this Society. It resembles in most respects Dr. Burn's No. 4, a modern Devanāgarī transcript of which is given in the Seventh

1 In his table Dr. Bhau gives symbols for 30 and 70, but I have not been able to find his evidence for them in his paper. One of those he puts down under 70 is very unlike the transcript he himself gives of the symbol for that number occurring in Rudradāman's Inscription. And the transcript 𑀧, as I have shown further on, different from that given by two previous transcribers.

2 JASB, Vol. VII, p. 334, lith.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 149, lith., l. 4.

4 JBERAS, Vol. VII, No. 22 lith., l. 4.

Volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. The grantor in both cases is the same. He was, as I have shown,¹ Śīlāditya II, the third king after Dharaśena IV, the grantor in the present plate. The figured date of both is ३४५.² The first symbol stands for 300 and the last for 6. The value of the second, which resembles the letter sa ३, has generally been taken to be 70. But we have already assigned that value to a totally different symbol, and if this also were taken to represent 70 the date of these two plates would be 376; i. e., the interval between Dharaśena IV and Śīlāditya II, would be 50 years, and that between this latter king and Dharaśena II, 10½ years. The minister who prepared the deed in Śīlāditya's time was Madana Hala, the son of Skandabhata, so that this reading would give to the father and son together a tenure of the office for at least 104 years. But, as I have already remarked, the son holds an hereditary office only for a short time if the father has enjoyed it for a long time. Each year added to the father's tenure must, it appears to me, be taken away from the son's. There is probably no instance in history of a father and son holding an office in succession for 104 years. I think, therefore, that the second symbol in these places cannot have been meant for 70. The only tens now available in fixing the value of this symbol are 30, 50, and 60, the rest having been already appropriated. 30 would not do, as the resulting date 336 would limit the duration of three reigns to ten years. Sixty would, like seventy, give, I think, too long a time to Skandabhata's son. But even if it should be thought otherwise, the dates on the Sāh coins appear to support the interpretation of the symbol under consideration as equal to 50 rather than 60. For after Rudra Sāh,³ the twelfth in Mr. Newton's list, reigned in succession his two sons, Viśva Simha and Atri Dāma, then his grandson Viśva Sāh, son of Atri Dāma, and after some interval his third son, Aśa Dāma. One of Rudra Sāh's coins bears the date 197, one of Atri Dāma's 214, one of Viśva Sāh's 227, and one of Aśa Dāma's, a date

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 18.

2 JASB, Vol. VII, p. 349.

3 JBRAS, Vol. VII.

the second symbol in which is the one we have been considering. The most probable values in this case are 30 and 40, for a coin of his predecessor bears the date 227. But 40 has another and well-ascertained symbol; and 30, I have rejected above on independent grounds. The value which ranks next in probability is 50; 60 would render Aśa Dāma's reign too long, and make him live about 40 years, or 33 at least, after his second brother. The date of Mr. Wathen's second copper-plate and of Dr. Burn's, the grantor in both of which is Śīlāditya II, appears thus to be 356. Dr. Bhau gives under one Śīlāditya the date 338,¹ and under another 346 and 348. He does not tell us whether these are his interpretations of the figures in the two copper-plates I have been speaking of, but if they are, I do not know on what authority he takes the symbol resembling the letter **N** sa to represent 30 or 40. In his own table of numerals he does not put the symbol under 30 or 40, nor does it occur there at all.

My conclusions therefore are that the figure **N** stands for 50, and **7** for 70, and that the date of the grant of Dharasena II, discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272, and not 330, 332, 326, 322, or 300 and odd, as given by the various writers I have quoted, of Dharasena IV, 326, and of Śīlāditya II, 356, and not 375. The interval between Dharasena II and Śīlāditya II is thus 84 years, and not 40 or 45 as the interpretations of the dates hitherto received have led Indian antiquarians to suppose. According to Dr. Bhau the whole dynasty did not last for more than 40 years.² The reason generally given is that though there were many successions to the Gādi during the interval, only one minister and his son served all the kings. But there is, I submit, no impossibility whatever in the circumstances of a father and his son holding an office for 84 years between them. Henry III and Edward I reigned in England for 91 years. And 40 or 45 years is certainly too small a period for seven or eight reigns. It appears to me very improbable that a son of the great-grandson of a king should be reigning only about 45 years after him. And Śīlāditya II, the grantor in Mr. Wathen's second

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 245.

2 Ibid.

plate, was the son of the great-grandson of Dharasena II, as I have shown in the genealogy referred to above.

The question remains,—To what era are these dates to be referred? A good many antiquarians refer them to Vikrama's, and some to that of the Valabhi dynasty itself. Mr. Thomas, however, thinks the era used to be the Śaka,¹ and our learned Vice-President, Dr. Bhau, has consistently maintained this for many years. My humble opinion coincides with Dr. Bhau's. Not only do we find the words Śaka-Kāla used in those records of the period in which the era is specified, but I think there is a reason why that era should have been used. The name Śaka-nrpa-kāla, or the era of the Śaka king, and the fact of the existence of such an era, show that there was a great king from whose date it originated, that he and his descendants governed the country, and that he was a foreigner and belonged to a tribe known to the Indian Āryas by the name of Śakas. Now, from the Cave-Inscriptions and the Surāstra coins, we find that the whole of Gujarat and a great part of Mahārāstra, with some adjacent countries, were for about three centuries governed by kings who called themselves Ksatrapas. Though a Sanskrit etymology has been given to the word, there can be no question that it is of foreign origin and is the same as the Persian word Satrap. The earliest person who is known to have borne the title was Nahapāna, spoken of in the Cave-Inscriptions as the Ksatrapa of a king named Ksaharāta. Another Satrap was called Castana. These three names are unquestionably foreign and are considered to be Parthian. The name Sāh of the Satrap dynasty of Surāstra is also not of Sanskrit origin. It appears, therefore, that the kings who bore the title of Ksatrapas were Parthian by descent, though they were afterwards domiciled in the country, used the Sanskrit language, and took Sanskrit names. Nahapāna or his sovereign, or any one else who conquered this portion of India and established the Satrap dynasty, must have been the Śaka king from whom the era originated. And Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, is called a Śaka in one of the Nasik Inscriptions.² The era must have been used by the dynasty itself, and conse-

1 Paper on the Sāh Dynasty.

2 No. 14, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22.

quently by the people, just as we at the present day, even in our private transactions, use the Christian era.

When the Satraps were superseded by the Valabhis in Surāstra, and by the Cālukyas in Mahārāstra, the same era to which the people had been accustomed for about three centuries must have continued in use, and been used by the conquering dynasties themselves. After the Marathas had put down the Mahomedans and established their sway, they always used the Mahomedan era, sometimes along with, but often without, the Śaka, notwithstanding the endeavours of Shivaji to sanskritize his Durbar. And this Mahomedan era continued to be used even by British Mamlatdars, Mahalkaris, and Munsifs in their official letters until recently. From what has taken place in recent times, we may infer what must have occurred fifteen centuries ago. If we have seen the Maratha Rājās and the Brahman Peshwas using the Mahomedan era, notwithstanding that they had the advantage of another more ancient, we should certainly expect to find the Valabhis and the Cālukyas using the era of the Satraps whom they succeeded, especially when they had no other.

And if we refer the Valabhi dates to the era of Śaka kings, we arrive at an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhi era, ascertained by Col Tod to have commenced in 319 A. D. The date 272 of the grant of Dharasena II, if referred to the era of Vikrama is equal to 216 A. D., i. e., the Valabhi era must be supposed to have originated 103 years after Dharasena's grant was executed. But it is difficult to conceive what event in the history of those kings, so important as to give rise to a new era, could have taken place at that time, except it be the overthrow of the dynasty or the destruction of Valabhi. But we have no evidence to show that there was a revolution in the country in 319 A. D. Valabhi was the capital of a kingdom in the time of Hwan Thsang, and the overthrow of a reigning family does not appear to me to be such an occurrence as would give rise to a new era called after the family. It would in such a case bear the name of the conqueror, and not of the conquered. If, however, the date 272 were referred to the Śaka-kāla, it would be equivalent to 350 A. D., i. e., it would show that Dharasena II was reigning at Valabhi in the 31st year

of the era of his family. The best starting-point for the era is, in my opinion, the coronation of Drona-Simha, the second son of Bhatārka. The latter had, no doubt, laid the foundations of the greatness of the family, but he and his first son did not assume the title of King, and were called Senāpatis or Commanders of forces. Drona-simha is the first member of the dynasty to whom the title of Mahārāja or King is given in Mr. Wathen's first copper-plate, and he is there spoken of as having been crowned by the only sovereign of the whole world, whoever he may have been. The independence of the Valabhi kings therefore dates from this event.

After Drona-Simha, his two brothers governed the kingdom successively. The reigns of brothers succeeding each other cannot be very long, and even Guhasena, the son of Dharapatta the last brother, and father of Dharasena II, must have been a pretty old man when he began to reign, for he came to the throne after his three uncles and his father Drona-Simha also must have received the title of Mahārāja some years after he succeeded his brother. I therefore think that 31 years is a sufficiently long period for a portion of the reign of Drona-Simha and the whole reigns of his two brothers and Guhasena. These considerations, in my opinion, go a great way towards showing that the Valabhi princes used the era of the Śaka kings. Mr. Ferguson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhi era¹; but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years—or, according to the old reading, 330 years—is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhatārka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Drona-Simha's coronation.

The conclusions, then, at which I arrive are—that the date of the grant of Dharasena II, discovered by Mr Wathen is 272 Śaka, corresponding to 350 A. D.; that of the present grant is 326 Śaka or 404 A. D., and that of those of Śīlāditya II is 356 Śaka, i. e., 434 A. D.

Since the above was written, Mr. Burgess has kindly placed in my hands the second halves of two copper-plate grants of the dynasty found in the ruins of Valabhi. Both are greatly damaged, but the smaller one more so than the other. The surface was at first covered over by a thick crust of some hard but brittle substance, so that the letters were not distinct. What was observable on the smaller plate was the sign-manual of the king and the date. But the date without the name of the grantor was of little use. I then placed the plates in a vessel containing water mixed with tamarind for a whole night, and the next morning when the hard substance had softened a little, scratched it off with a knife. The letters are now more distinct. In the first line of the smaller plate the following words occur :—सुखसंपदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामो परममहेश्वरः श्रीशिला... "Śrī Śilā. whose second name Dharmāditya was procured for him by his enjoyment of prosperity being..." The part of the plate, containing the syllables दित्य forming the latter part of the name and two or three words more, is broken off. Then follow the words युक्तकविनियुक्तक, after which some letters are illegible; and then समाज्ञापयस्व कस्संविदिनं, "commands 'Be it known to you.' "

Dharmāditya, we know, was another name of Śilāditya, son of Dharasena II, and the words preceding his name in other plates are the same as here. The grantor, therefore, is Śilāditya I. The date is २००. The first figure has one side-stroke only, on which account it represents 200. The second is that which stands for 80 in Dr. Burn's plates. The common chord, however, on which the segments here stand is not quite a straight line, and the whole has the appearance of two irregular circles touching each other. But the figure occurs in this slightly modified form on some coins¹ of the Sāh dynasty. The last figure is 6, so that the whole date is 286. This remarkably confirms my reading of the date of Mr. Wathen's first plate, and especially of the second figure in it. If the date of this grant of the son and successor of Dharasena II is 286, that of one of Dharasena himself may well be 272.

These two plates,² broken and mutilated as they are, are very

² See Mr. Newton's paper, JBBRAS, Vol VII, p. 28, under Rudra Sāh.

³ These have been translated in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, pp. 45ff, and are included in this volume later. [N B. U.]

29 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III]

interesting. Those hitherto discovered record grants of land to Brahmans, but in these I observe grants made to Buddhistic Vihāras or monasteries for the support of the mendicant priests from "the four quarters residing in them", as well as for providing the means of worshipping the great Buddhas, such as incense, flowers, and lamp-oil. The grant in the larger plate is to a Vihāra constructed at the village of Yodhāvaka, by the minister Skandabhata, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We thus see that the Valabhi kings patronized Brahmans as well as Buddhists, and sectarian animosity did not exist. Buddhism still flourished side by side with Brahmanism; and the worship of the images of the several Buddhas formed part of the religion. But I reserve these plates for a fuller consideration on some future occasion.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE VALABHĪ COPPER-PLATE

REFERRED TO ABOVE.

१। स्थस्ति कलभीनः प्रसन्नप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकणामतुल्यलस्यकमण्डलाभोगसंसकप्रहारशत-
लब्धम् १२। तापत्रनाथेलतत्रमनानाजर्जवोपाज्जितानुरागाद्वृत्तकमोलिभुतभ्रेणीषलाभाप्रराज्यभिय परम-
माहे १३। श्वरभी भट्टार्काव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौनाशेषकल्मष- शैश-
वात्मधुनि खल्व द्वितीयथा १४। हरेव समवपरगजघटास्कोटनप्रकाशितप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिक्व- तत्प्रभाव-
प्रणतारानिच्छुडारतनप्रभासंसकपावनम् १५। रश्मिसंहति- सकलम्युनिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजा-
हृदयरञ्जनान्वर्था राजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्य १६। बुद्धिर्मपङ्क्ति- स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिबिद्वश-
युक्धनेशाननिशयान शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया नृणवद्वपस्ता १७। शेषरवकार्यः फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्य-
प्रदानानन्दिविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदय- पाठचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोद १८। परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
सुहृत्सेनस्तस्य सुतन्मत्पावनखमयूखसंतानावेस्तुतजान्हकीजलांषक्षालिताशेषकल्मष- प्रणयि १९। शत-
सहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपदूपलोभादिवशित सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणे सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविशेषविस्मा-
पिता १०। खिलधनुर्धर- प्रथमनरपनिसमनिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदाबानामपकर्ता प्रजोपचातकारि-

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| १ विजयस्कन्धावा...वाचक W 2 | २ सप्त W 1 | ३ संप्रहार W. 1. |
| ४ प्रताप. पताप प्रतापपनत W. 1. | ५ W. 2. repeats अनुरागात्. | |
| ६ मौलिभुतमित्रभ्रेणी W. 1., मौलिभुतः W. 2. | ७ W. I & 2. om. one प्रकाशित. | |
| ८ संसकसव्यपाद W. 1. | ९ रञ्जनावन्वर्थ W. 1. | १० स्वकार्यफलः प्रार्थना° |
| W. 1. कार्यफलप्रार्थना W. 2 | ११ W. 1. has मण्ड. | १२ श्रीमहाराजयुह° W. I. |
| १३ निवृत्त W. | १४ विस्मालित W. 1. | १५ उपजीव्यभोगसंपद. |
| १६ सरसमा° W. 1. | १७ W. 1 om. one विशेष. | |

गायत्र्युपनिषद् ॥ १११ ॥ नां दिशं [वशं] यिता श्रीसरस्वत्यैरेकाधिवासस्य संदिनारानिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगवैश्व-
 विक्रमो विष्णोपसंप्रामादिमलपार्थिव ॥ १२ ॥ श्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः
 सकलजगज्जानन्वनात्सुतगुणसमुद्भवस्थितिसमग्र ॥ १३ ॥ विष्णुपङ्कजः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथम-
 ण्डलामधुनिभासुरनरसपीठोद्भवयुग्मनोरथमहाभारः सत्त्वं ॥ १४ ॥ विद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमातिरपि
 सर्वगतस्तुभक्तलक्षणा [वितलेत्वेना] पि सुखोरपाठनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाध ॥ १५ ॥ गार्भाम्यह्व-
 योपि सुचरितानिशासत्युत्पन्नपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगानुपनिषद्विशोधनाधिगतो ॥ १६ ॥ द्रम-
 कीर्तिधर्मनूपरोधोज्ज्वलनरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशिक्षा
 ॥ १७ ॥ विन्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रयुक्तेषु युक्तात्पादवरता सममिलवर्णीयामपि राज-
 लक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्त ॥ १८ ॥ परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनेकरसतयेवोद्बुद्धस्वेवसुखरतिभ्यामनायासिनस-
 त्सम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्वशी ॥ १९ ॥ कृतवृत्तिशतशिरोगलच्छायेपद्युद्धपाठपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानसामा-
 लिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परि ॥ २० ॥ त्यज्य प्रख्यातपौर्वाभिमानैरप्यरतिभिरनासादितप्रतिनिधिबो-
 पायः कृतनिखिलभुवनमोहविमलगुणसंहति ॥ २१ ॥ प्रसभाविद्यतिसकलकलिलसितगतिर्काञ्चिजनाधि-
 रोहिमिंशोवैद्यैरेनमृष्टात्युक्ततद्वयः प्रख्यातपादपाठ ॥ २२ ॥ कौशलातिशयगणानिधिविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मी-
 स्वयंमहप्रकाशितमपीरुक्वप्रथमतस्तथाधिगम [:] परममाहेश्वरः ॥ २३ ॥ श्रीस्वरद्रष्टस्तस्य तमेयस्तत्पा-
 दानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषानिशासः सत्त्वं ॥ २४ ॥ म्या त्यागौश-
 म्येण च विगतानुसंधानसमाहितारानिपक्षमनोधाक्षमङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकज्ञाक्षकल्लोकोच्चरि ॥ २५ ॥
 तगम्भीरविभागो [वाः] पि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरुक्त्रिमप्रभयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहृणप्रत्य-
 [वः] लोदय ॥ २६ ॥ बाहुवृण्डविष्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षवर्षोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूताक्षकौशलाभिमान
 सकलवृत्तिपति ॥ २७ ॥ मण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सच-
 रितानिशासित ॥ २८ ॥ सकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिबुद्धसाध्यानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां सुनिमानिष पुरुषकारः
 परिबुद्ध ॥ २९ ॥ गुणानुगमिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मन्त्रिषु स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
 कान्तिमाप्ति ॥ ३० ॥ ईतिहेतुरकल्लु^{२३} कमुद्रनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितविज्ञानरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्ताग्राहस्त-
 नतोदितस्त ॥ ३१ ॥ यिता प्रकृतिम्यः परे प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिप्रयोजनानुषन्धमागमपरिपूर्ण विद्वानः
 सन्धिविग्रह ॥ ३२ ॥ समासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमदेशं उद्बुद्धाद्विधिधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधुना
 राज्यसालावुरीयतन्वयोह ॥ ३३ ॥ भयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि कर्णामृदुद्वयः सुतवानप्यगर्जितः
 कान्थो^{३४} [न्ते] पि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृद्व्योपि निर ॥ ३४ ॥ सितो दोषवनामुद्रयसमर्थसमुपजनिजननानुराग-
 परिपीडितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितचालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परम ॥ ३५ ॥ माहेश्वरः श्रीधुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पाद-
 कमलप्रणामधरणिक्वणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिञ्जुभाष एव ॥ ३६ ॥ अथनिहित-
 मौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलभूतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताप्रह्लादविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकम्र ॥ ३७ ॥
 हणावमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्वसुन्धरायाः काव्युके धनुर्वेद इव संभाविताशेवलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणनसामन्त-

१८ वशंयिता W. 1.

१९ सहना° W. 1.

२० परिक्षोम W. 1.

२१ क्रमोप° W. 1.

२२ °माहेश्वरे महाराज. श्रीधर° W. 1.

२३ °लङ्कः Bs.

२४ शालावुरीय Bs.

२५ कान्थोपि Bs.

२६ जनानुराग Bs.

W. 1 signifies Wathen's first plate.

W. 2 do second do.

Bs. signifies the plate translated in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, p. 45.

मण्डलोत्तमाङ्क १३८ । धृतचतुर्दशरत्नावमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरवत्कृष्ण-
 श्रीअञ्जकपादादुद्घातः । ३९ । श्रीधरसेनः कुशली सञ्जनेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्तमाज्ञापयत्यन्तु वस्ते-
 विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय । ४० । सिंहपुरविनिर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामनिवासीसिंहपुरचातु-
 र्विद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणयु । ४१ । हाव्यपुत्रब्राह्मणार्जुनाय सुराद्रेषु काला-
 पकपथकान्तगर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिषाटकशर्करापद्रकदक्षिणसीमि व । ४२ । टपञ्चाशत्यादावर्षपरि-
 माणक्षेत्रखण्ड यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः विण्म्वलसत्कक्षपी दक्षिणतः वनकसत्कक्षेत्रं अपरतः । ४३ ।
 कुटुम्बिषिण्डलसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणषट्मिवसत्कक्षेत्रं तथासिंहपुरविनिर्गतसिंहपुरचातुर्विद्यसामान्य-
 किक्कटा । ४४ । पुत्रग्रामनिवासीभारद्वाजसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणयुहाव्यपुत्रब्राह्मणमनुस्वामिने
 सुराद्रेषु कालापकप । ४५ । थकान्तगर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामे अपरसीमि षोडशापादावर्षपरिसरा वापी यस्या
 आघाटनानि पूर्वतश्चक्रसत्कक्षपी दक्षिणतोप । ४६ । रतश्च कुटुम्बिचन्द्रसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः महत्तरासक-
 सत्कक्षेत्रं तथा किक्कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिषाटकशर्करापद्रग्रामे अ । ४७ । परसीमि अष्टाविंशतिपादावर्षपरि-
 माणं क्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः कुटुम्बिबव्यस्थविरकसत्कक्षेत्रं दक्षिणतः आश्विनिक । ४८ । पुत्र-
 ग्रामीणकुटुम्बिवराहसत्कक्षेत्रं अपरतः आश्विनिपुत्रकवध (व) पटीयकसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतो ब्रह्मवायिकभागी-
 यकसत्कक्षेत्रं तथा । ४९ । चतुर्दशपादावर्षपरिमाणं क्षेत्रखण्ड यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः बव्यस्थविरकक्षेत्रमेव
 दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रं अपरतः चण्डीय । ५० । कक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरतः ब्रह्मेयिकचारिलकक्षेत्रं तथा वट-
 पनका येषामाघाटनानि पूर्वतः विच्छेदीयकक्षेत्रं दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रमेव । ५१ । अपरतः कु [कुटुम्बी]
 श्वरक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरतः पटानकग्रामसीमा एवमेतद्विंशत्युत्तरपादावर्षनंशतप्रमाणं वापीक्षेत्रं सोढुं स- । ५२ ।
 परिकरं . . . सथान्यहिरण्यदेयं सदशापरार्धं सोत्पद्यमानवितर्कं सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं
 पूर्व्वप्रन्तदेव । ५३ । ब्रह्मवायवर्ज्यं . न्ययिनाचन्द्रार्कावक्षितिस्तारिपर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्राव्य-
 भोग्य उदकतिसर्गणं धर्मदायो निस्तुटः । ५४ । यतोस्त्वोचितया ब्रह्मवायस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्ष-
 यतः प्रविशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वासेधे वर्तिनव्यमागामिमद्रूपानिभिरस्मद्भृशजैरेभ्यैर्ध्या । ५५ । अनित्यायैश्च-
 र्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्वायोनुगन्तव्यं परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च
 बहुभिर्व्यसुषा भुक्ता राज । ५६ । मिः सगरादिभिः । यस्व यस्व यदा भूमिस्व तस्य तदा फले । यानीह
 वारिद्रभयाकोरेन्द्रैर्नानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु । ५७ । पुनरा-
 द्वातः पादिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति । इत-
 कोत्र राजपुत्रभुवसेनः लिखितमिदं । ५८ । संधिबिग्रहाधिकृतदिविपनिवश [?] भटपुत्रदिविपनिस्कन्द-
 भटेन सं० ३२६. आपाद ह्युद्ध स्वहस्तो मम.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, pp. 14ff.]

TRANSLATION.

WELFARE! From Valabhi. From Bhatārka the great Māheśvara¹ who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who, with main force, had subjugated their enemies—who won the attachment [of kings] by his gifts, respectful treatment and equable

1 Devotee of Mahēśvara or Śiva. The Valabhi kings probably belonged to the Māheśvara Sect,

conduct, the results of that greatness—who, by the power of the kings attached to him, obtained sovereignty, and whose royal race is unbroken,—sprang Śrī¹ Guhasena the great Māheśvara,—who had all his sins washed away by bowing at the lotus-like feet of his mother and father—who, sword in hand, from his childhood manifested great prowess, by breaking the ranks of the maddened elephants of his enemy,—the rays of the nails of whose feet were mixed with the light of the crown jewels of the enemies laid prostrate [at his feet] by his valour,—who delighted the hearts of his subjects by excellently protecting them, thoroughly, according to the method prescribed in the Smṛtis,² and thus rendered his title of Rāja literally true,—who in beauty, lustre, firmness, depth, genius and wealth, excelled Kāma,³ the moon, the King of mountains,⁴ the ocean, the preceptor of the Gods,⁵ and the Lord of wealth,⁶—who sacrificed his own interests as if they were as worthless as straw, by his readiness to extend protection from danger to those who sought an asylum with him,—and, who delighted the hearts of learned men, friends and favourites, by giving them more wealth than was asked, and who was the very incarnate [moving on legs] delight of the whole extent of the world. His son was Śrī Dharasena the great Māheśvara—whose stains of sins were wholly washed away by the water of the Gangā⁷ in the shape of the rays from the nails of his father's feet,—whose wealth was fed on by hundreds of thousands of favourites,—who was resorted to as it were, out of love for his beauty, by many acquired virtues,—who astonished all archers by his innate power and acquired skill,—who continued the charitable grants made by former kings,—who averted the evils destructive to his subjects,—who showed himself to be the common abode of Śrī⁸ and Sarasvatī,⁹—whose exploits placed him in the enjoyment of the wealth

1 This is an honorific, prefixed to the names of kings.

2 Law-books.

3 The God of Love.

4 Himālaya.

5 Bṛhaspati.

6 Kubera.

7 The water of the Gangā is white, according to Hindu poets, and rays of light are also white; hence the resemblance.

8 The Goddess of wealth.

9 Goddess of learning. These two are supposed always to live apart.

and power of his united enemies, and who, by exploits, obtained unsullied royal dignity. His son was Śilāditya, the great Māheśvara, who meditated on his father's feet,—who filled the circle of all the quarters by extraordinary virtues which were united in him, and which delighted the whole world,—the burden of whose great desires was borne successfully by his shoulders, which were brighter than those of others, in consequence of his conspicuousness amongst the allies, who had obtained distinction by winning a hundred battles,—whom it was always very easy to please by writing sage epigrams, though his own mind was purified by the study of all sciences in all their branches,—who, though transcending all people in the unfathomable depth [of his heart], was of a very benevolent disposition, as shown by his good deeds,—who obtained great fame by clearing the obstructed path trodden on by kings of the Kṛta¹ age,—whose enjoyment of the sweets of affluence was refined by his adherence to justice, and thus procured for him his other name of Dharmāditya.² His younger brother was Śrī Kharagraha, the great Māheśvara, who meditated on his (brother's) feet, who bore the sovereign power though it was an object of desire to the loving elder one, who was like the elder one of Upendra,³ as a bullock (bearer of the yoke) bears on his shoulders something that is great, simply on account of the pleasure he took in executing his (brother's) commands, and while doing so he did not allow his virtue to be diminished, either by love of pleasure or vexation—whose mind—though his foot-stool was enveloped in the lustre of the crown jewels of the hundred kings subjugated by his prowess—was not affected by arrogance, or a fondness to treat others with indignity,—to counteract whom (whose power), setting aside submission, there was no way even for enemies reputed for manliness and pride,—who by a number of pure virtues which perfumed the whole world,

1 The kings of the Kṛta or the first age of Hindu Mythology were very virtuous; and their ways and manners were forgotten. Śilāditya trod in their foot-steps.

2 Literally—' the Sun of justice or virtue.'

3 Upendra is a name of Viṣṇu; and the allusion here is probably to Kṛṣṇa, in whose favour Balarāma, his elder brother, or guru,—the word in the original,—resigned the kingdom.

resisted with main force the progress of the sport of Kali,¹—whose heart was noble and untouched by all the faults which little men are prone to,—and who obtained the first place amongst men of valour by the royal Lakṣmī² of a host of inimical kings voluntarily embracing him, on account of his well-known valour and skill in the management of weapons. His son who meditated on his feet was Śrī Dharasena, the great Māheśvara,—who gave exceedingly great delight to the hearts of learned men by the acquisition of all the sciences,—who in his stock of virtue and liberality in giving away, found a device, by which was effected the defeat of the desires of his enemies, who, though his thoughts were deep (in his breast), in consequence of his having been thoroughly acquainted with various sciences, arts, and with the ways of the world, was of a very benevolent disposition,—whose unaffected humility and chastened manners, were his ornaments,—who destroyed the pride of all enemies by his powerful and massive arm, which carried the flag of victory in a hundred battles,—and whose commands were obeyed by the whole circle of kings, whose skill in the management of weapons he had defeated by the might of his bow. His younger brother who meditated on his feet was the great Māheśvara Dhruvasena, who surpassed all previous kings by his good deeds,—who accomplished things that were very difficult to accomplish,—who was valour itself in a human form,—who was respected as if he were Manu himself by his subjects, with hearts full of love for his great virtues,—who was the very lord of lotuses³ without the spots, full-sized,⁴ shining, and the cause of joy to others,—who was the ever shining sun, the dispeller of darkness by filling all quarters with the bright lustre [of his great prowess]—who, inspiring confidence⁵ in his subjects,

1 The principle of evil. Kali is supposed to have full swing in the present age, which is called Kali-yuga.

2 The triumph of a lover consists in his mistress giving him a voluntary embrace. The royal power and state of Kharagraha's enemies are personified as Lakṣmī, who is attracted by their valour.

3 i. e., The moon.

4 There is a play here on the word Kalā, which means 'a digit of the moon' and 'an art.' The moon had all her digits i. e. was full, and the king was versed in all the arts.

5 There is a play here on the words prakṛti, pratyaya, anubandha, āgama and vidadhāna, which are technical terms used by Pāṇini. The grammatical meaning is enclosed within brackets in the text.

as to the acquisition of wealth, the furtherance of a great many purposes, and the increase of prosperity [Gramatically construed—prescribing the addition to bases of a termination with a certain sense, having letters indicatory of a great many changes, and with the augment added on to it]; proficient in determining matters about peace,¹ war, and alliance [Gram. well-versed in Samdhi or phonetic rules, dissolution of compounds and Compounds]; issuing² commands proper for the occasion [Gram. prescribing a substitute for the original] and doing³ honour to the good by raising them from a subordinate position [Gram. giving correct forms to words by prescribing Guna and Vrdhhi changes], was thoroughly versed in the art of Government, and of the Śālāturiya.⁴ Though of great valour, he possessed a heart softened by compassion; though learned, he was not boastful; though he was a lover, his passions were subdued; though his kindness was unchanging, he repelled those who were guilty. He rendered his well-known second name of Bālāditya (Morning Sun) literally true, by the warm⁵ love which he engendred in men at the time of his accession,⁶ and which overspread the earth. His son is Śrī Dharasena who bears on his forehead a crescent of the moon, in the shape of the mark of scars produced by rubbing his head on the earth, when prostrating himself at his father's lotus-like feet; whose great learning is as pure as the pearl ornament put on his graceful ear in his childhood; the lotus-like palm of whose hand is always washed by the water [poured in the making] of gifts; whose joy is heightened by the levy of taxes⁷ as light as the soft grasp of the hand of a maiden; who, like the revealed science of archery,⁸ has dealt by means of his bow with all the aims in

1 Here the words Samāsa, Vīgraha and Samdhi are used in a double sense.

2 Sthāna and Ādeśa are the words here.

3 Here the words with a double meaning are Samśkāra, Sādhū, Guṇa, Vrdhhi, and Vīdhāna.

4 Pāṇini was a native of Śālātura, in the country to the west of the Indus; and he is known by the name of Śālāturiya or native of Śālātura.

5 There is a play on the word Anurāga here, which means 'redness' as well as 'love.' The light of the morning sun is reddish.

6 Udaya is the word here which means 'rise' as applied to the Sun or the king.

7 A pun on the word Kara which means a 'tax' and the 'hand'.

8 The Dhanurveda so translated here, teaches how to take all sorts of aims, and the king had actually taken all aims, hence the comparison.

the world (takes aims),—whose commands are treated by the circle of subject kings as the jewels worn on the head ;¹ who meditates on his grandfather's feet and who is the great Māheśvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign. He, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern :—" Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I have given in charity, by pouring water, a field of the area of 56 paces² at the southern extremity of Śarkarāpadraka, a district of Kikkatāputra, a village in Kālāpakapatha in Surāstra, to the Brāhmana Arjuna, son of the Brāhmana Guhādhyā, residing in Kikkatāputra, formerly of Simhapura, honoured among the Brāhmanas of Simhapura, knowing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, and student of the Chandoga Veda. The boundaries of the field are, to the east—the well Vinhalsatkka,—to the south, the field Vaitakasatkka,—to the west, the field Kutumbi-Vinhala-Satkka,—to the north, the field of Brāhmana-sasti-bhava Satkka :—And also to the Brāhmana Manka-Svāmin, son of the Brāhmana Guhādhyā, residing in the village of Kikkatāputra, formerly of Simhapura, honoured among the Brāhmanas of Simhapura, knowing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, student of Chandoga Veda : a well of the area of sixteen paces, at the western extremity of Kikkatāputra village in Kālāpakapatha in Surāstra. The boundaries are.—To the east, the well Catra-satkka,—to the south and west—the field Kutumbi Candra-satkka—and to the north the field Mahattatradāsaka-satkka. And also at the western extremity of the village of Sarkarāpadraka a district of Kikkatāputra, a field of the area of 28 paces, the boundaries of which are, . . .³ and also a field measuring fourteen paces, the boundaries of which are . . . and also six patlakas⁴ whose boundaries are :—to the east to the south . . . to the west . . . and to the north, the boundary of the village of Patānaka. In this manner, the field of Vāpi, of the extent of 182

1 i. e. uncompromisingly obeyed

2 The word in the original is pādāvarta, which appears to have been a square measure.

3 The dots indicate portions containing a mention of the boundaries &c left untranslated [N. B U]

4 Probably a certain square measure.

paces, is granted, along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, together with the revenue in kind, or gold, and with whatever may be grown on them, except what may have been granted to Gods or Brahmans before. The whole is not to be meddled with by any officer of the king, and is to be enjoyed from son to grandson, and to last as long as the sun, the moon, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains endure. On this account no one shall obstruct any one, who, in virtue of this Brahman-gift, enjoys the land, ploughs it, or allows it to be ploughed, or assigns it over to another person. All future kings, whether of our race or others, should, bearing in mind that power is transitory, and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits arising from the grant of land, recognise this our grant, and continue it. It is said :—This earth has been enjoyed by many kings, such as Sagara and others; each one obtains the fruit when he is in possession. The things given in charity by kings who were afraid of poverty, are like flowers which have been used. What good man will resume them? The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years, and he who takes it away, or allows it to be taken away, lives in Hell for as many years.—The Prince Dhruvasena is minister (executive officer) here Engraved by Divirapati-Skandabhata, the son of Divirapati Vaśa [?] bhata, minister for peace and war 326 in the bright half of Āsāḍha. My own hand [sign manual]

REMARKS.

THREE copper-plates of the Valabhi Dynasty have been hitherto deciphered and translated. Two of these were discovered by Mr. Wathen, and the third by Dr. Burns of Kaira. Mr. Wathen's translation of one of the two and his remarks on the other are given in the Fourth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. One leaf of the latter was afterwards deciphered and translated by the Rev. P. Anderson. The translation, a Devanāgarī transcript, and a lithographed copy are given in the Third Volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal. A transcript and translation of Dr. Burn's copper-plate are to be found in the Seventh Volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. We shall distin-

guish these by the numbers 1, 2 and 3. No. 1 records a grant of land by Dharasena II, the great-grandson of the founder of the dynasty and the seventh in Mr Anderson's list; and Nos. 2 and 3 are said to be from Dhruvasena, the thirteenth in the list.

The copper-plates now translated were put into my hands by the Editor.¹ The grantor, in this case, is Dharasena IV, the twelfth in Mr. Anderson's list and consequently the immediate predecessor of the king who is considered as the grantor in Nos. 2 and 3.

Dr Bhau Daji gives, in one place, the dates of five copper-plate grants of this dynasty,² whilst in another he mentions seven dates professedly derived from copper-plates. But he does not say when or by whom so many grants of the Valabhi kings were discovered, nor who deciphered and translated them, or where the plates or their transcripts and translations are to be found. Mr. Thomas, as appears from his edition of Prinsep's Essays, knows only of the three I have mentioned.

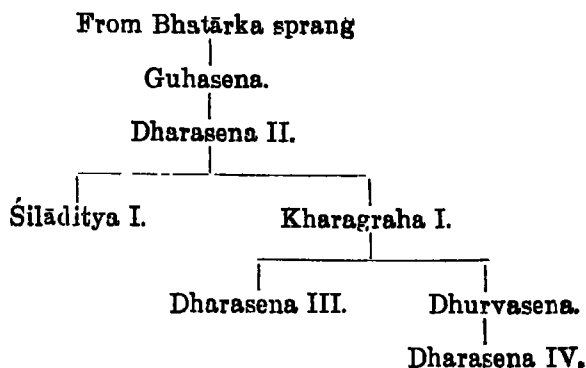
The descriptions of the several kings in all these plates are given in the same words; so that, so far as they go, they may be considered to be copies of each other. There are a few varieties of lectionis, but some of these at least must be ascribed to the ignorance or carelessness of the engraver. The published transcript of No. 1 is generally correct; but those of the other two are full of mistakes, and it is difficult or impossible in a great many places to make out any sense. Any one well acquainted with Sanskrit may ascertain the truth of this for himself by comparing the several transcripts with that of the present one. Many instances of this might be given, but I shall confine myself here to one. The plays on certain grammatical terms, and Śālāturiya, the name of Pāṇini, were not at all made out by previous decipherers; Guna-vrddhi was read by Mr. Anderson and the Calcutta scholar as Guna-bhridbhih, and Śālāturiya as Śālā-gariyas. But these mistakes are not in the original copper-plates. Nos. 1 and 2 are preserved in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic

1 The Editor of the Indian Antiquary added the foot-note "They were kindly lent me by Major J. W. Watson." [N. B. W.]

2 JEBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 230.

Society and I have collated these (in original) with the present one. I did not find there the mistakes I speak of, and which are to be ascribed to the transcribers. The translations based upon such transcripts must, of course, be equally wrong.

The genealogy of the Valabhi kings as gathered from the present grant is as follows :—



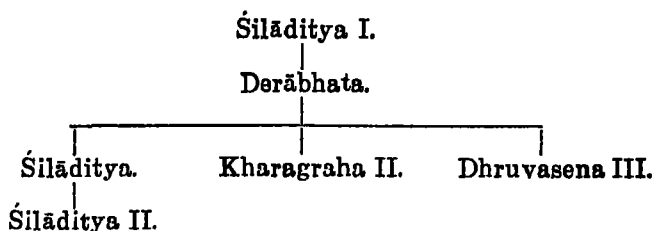
This genealogy agrees in every respect, so far as it goes, with that in Nos. 2 and 3. The exact relationship between Bhatārka and Guhasena is not given; but in No. 1 he is represented as his great-grandson. No. 1 gives also the names of the several sons of Bhatārka who succeeded each other.

The name of the grandfather of Dharasena IV, and brother of Śilāditya I, is given as Īsvaraḡraha by the translators of Nos. 2 and 3. In the present plate it is clearly Kharagraha and I find it so even in No. 2. Mr. Wathen's reading of it was Caragraha which is nearer to the true name than Īsvaraḡraha.

From a passage in the description of Kharagraha, the younger brother of Śilāditya, it appears that during the life-time of the latter, the former held the reins of government. For he is there spoken of as having administered the affairs of the kingdom in obedience to the orders of his guru which word must, from the analogy of the guru of Upendra or Kṛṣṇa mentioned there, as well as for other reasons, be taken to mean 'elder brother.' Mr. Anderson has entirely misunderstood this passage. The Calcutta translator gives the substance of it though the bearing of the analogy does not seem to have been clearly comprehended. There appears to have been a sort of usurpation here, for Śilāditya's

children were passed over and the kingdom was governed by Kharagraha, and after him, by his lineal descendants. The line of Śilāditya was restored after the death of Dharasena IV, as is evident from Nos. 2 and 3.

According to the translators of these, the immediate successor of this king made the grants Nos. 2 and 3, and his name was Dhruvasena. There is here a double mistake. The grantor's name was evidently Śilāditya, as may be ascertained by comparing the passage in No. 2 with the corresponding one in the transcript of No. 3, and he was not the immediate successor of Dharasena IV. He was great-grandson to Śilāditya I, as shown in the following genealogy gathered from the original of No. 2, now in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society :—



This last, marked Śilāditya II, is the grantor in Nos. 2 and 3.

This genealogy differs from that given by all the writers on the Valabhi dynasty except Dr. Bhau Daji¹ who does not give his authorities; but if they are not the same as mine, the order of names given above receives confirmation from what may, for the present, be called an independent source.

In another list given by the same writer,² I find another Śilāditya, placed below Śilāditya II. But here again I must complain of his silence as to his authorities.

It is not likely, though there is nothing impossible in it, that Derābhata, the son of Śilāditya, should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grandson of his uncle. It appears to me that those only whose names in the plates are in the nominative case and have the epithet Paramamāheśvara prefixed to them, were reigning kings. The names of Derābhata, and Śilāditya, the father

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 116.

² Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 245.

of Śīladitya II are in the genitive case in No. 2 and they are not styled Paramamāheśvaras. They do not seem, therefore, to have sat on the throne.

In a few places, in the latter part of the present copper-plate, the letters are not distinct ; so that I am not sure of the readings I have given of the names of the fields mentioned as boundaries of the pieces of land conveyed. But these names cannot be of any importance.

ON TWO COPPER-PLATES FROM VALABHĪ.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 45ff.]

The following are translations of the second halves of two copper-plate grants sent to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary from Bhavnagar. The second and smaller one, 12 inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$, is greatly damaged; and the letters are indistinct in many places. The other is $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{4}$, and is in a better state of preservation—the right hand edge only being broken off.

The grantor in No. I is Dharasena IV, the same as in the one translated at pp. 214 ff, ante. The date is also the same, viz. 326, the month being Māgha instead of Āsādha. The first nine lines and a half have not been translated, as the description of the kings in them is in almost every respect the same as in the corresponding portion of the former and other Valabhi grants.

The grantor in No. II is Śīlāditya I, the son and successor of Dharasena II, the king in Mr. Wathen's first plate. The figured date is :—

७०५ .

The first figure having only one side stroke, represents 200. The value of the second we know from Dr. Burn's Cālukya and Gūrjara plates to be 80, and the last stands for 6; so that the whole is 286. But the date usually assigned to the father of Śīlāditya from Mr. Wathen's plate is 332. I have shown¹ that this date has been misread and misinterpreted. The first figure in it stands for 200, and the value I have assigned to the second from evidence available is 70. The date therefore is 272.

These two plates, broken and mutilated as they are, are very interesting. Those hitherto discovered, record grants of land to Brahmans; but both these record grants of land to Buddhist monasteries or Vihāras. In the larger plate, the village of Yodhāvaka is assigned to a Vihāra constructed by the minister

1 In a paper in the JBBRAS, Volume X, p. 66ff. This paper has been published in this Volume, ante, pp. 214ff.

Skandabhata, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We see from these, that the Valabhi kings patronized the Buddhists as well as the Brahmans : Buddhism flourished at the time side by side with Brahmanism, and the worship of images formed part of the religion. The geneology of the Valabhi dynasty has been given at pp. 236 f, ante. The dates gathered from the copper-plate grants, I know of, are given below. I believe, for reasons in the paper just referred to, that the era used in these grants is that of the Śaka king.

Dharasena II	272 Śaka or 350 A. D.
Śilāditya I	286 Śaka or 364 A. D.
Dharasena IV (2 grants) ...	326 Śaka or 404 A. D.
Śilāditya II (2 grants) .	356 Śaka or 434 A. D.

TRANSLATION OF PLATE I.

Śrī Dharasena, the great Māheśvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign, who meditates on his grand-father's feet, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern :—Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father I have (assigned) to the assembly of the revered mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna (school) coming from the four quarters to the monastery constructed by Divira-pati Skandabhata in the village of Yodhāvaka in Hestava-prāhāra in Surāstra, the four divisions of the same village of Yodhāvaka :—viz., three for the purpose of (providing) clothing, food,¹ [means of] sleeping and sitting.... and medicine ; for the purpose of [providing] the means of worshiping and washing the glorious Buddhas, viz, fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, and oil for lamps, and for executing repairs to the monastery (lit. for putting aright the broken parts) ; and the fourth part of the same village for the further digging, clearing or repairing of the tank dug at the same place by Divirapati Skandabhata, and thus for providing water just at the door, (lit at the root of the feet). In this manner, by pouring water, the village

1 Piṇḍa-pāta is explained as षोडशमिमाभ्रमणेन भोजनम्. Piṇḍa is a ball, i. e. of rice in this case, and pāta is dropping ; hence it means the dropping in of a ball of rice in the Bhikṣu's bowl.

is assigned as a charity grant to the monastery, and the tank along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, with the creatures living therein, the revenue in grain and gold, the defects¹ in its condition, and whatever may grow in it spontaneously. The grant is exclusive of whatever may have been given to gods or Brahmans before; is not to be interfered with by the officers of the king; and is to last on the principle of a hole² in the earth, as long as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, rivers, and mountains endure. Therefore no one shall obstruct the revered mendicant priests in the act of ploughing the land, causing it to be ploughed or assigning it over (to some person), in virtue of this its condition as an assignment of Gods. All future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that power is transitory and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, should recognize this our grant and continue it. It is said, &c (the rest as in the translation of the plate [in the preceeding article.]) The prince Dhruvasena is executive officer here.

Engraved by Divirapati Skandabhata, the son of Divirapati Vatra (?) Bhatti, minister for peace and war S 326, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha

1 To the list of expressions, the senses of which are not accurately known, given by Prof Dowson, I might add मङ्गलार्थम् which occurs in several plates. I have however translated it as in the text

2 भूमिच्छिद्राया—This expression Bhūmicchidranyāya, which occurs in a great many copper-plates, and which no one has yet attempted to explain, may have some reference to the circumstance that holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in the course of time. That this fact was often the subject of thought and remark is shown by the story (in the Taitt. Sam. II 5, and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI. 9, and other works) that Indra transferred the sin he incurred by killing Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvastṛ—among other objects and persons—to the earth, and in consideration of her having taken it, gave her a boon, that all holes made in her, would be filled up in time. The sense of the sentence then is—that a grant is to last as long as the sun, the moon, &c, shall endure on the principle of holes in the earth (Nyāya means a principle, compare the Takra-Kaundinya and other Nyāyas), that is, as holes in the earth are filled up in time and the earth is whole again and so unchanged, so a grant should survive all revolutions &c, and last unchanged for ever.

My own hand.

PLATE II.

Transcript of the second half of another grant to a Buddhist Monastery, found in the ruins of Va'abhi.

मुखसेपदुपसंवासरुडधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशिला.....	(१)
.... युक्तकविनियुक्तक . . महान्तरा . . वीनन्या ...	(२)
. . समाज्ञापयन्त्यस्तुवस्तेविदितं यथा मया मातापितृ(पुण्या)प्ययनाय..	(३)
करितविहारनिवासिचतुर्दिग्भ्यागतार्यभिक्षुसंघस्य च्चिरपिण्डपातशयनासन,..	(४)
परिष्कारार्थं बुद्धानाञ्च भगवता गन्धधूपपुष्पमाल्यदीपनैलाद्युपयोगार्थं विहारस्य	
च खण्डम्कुटितप्रतिम-	(५)
स्कागय पालतीगेलह [°] रक्षपुत्र [?] ग्रामं नद्युत्तरगटे ..	(६)
क्षेत्रं तथोद्रपद्रकग्रामं क्षेत्रं सोवृक्षं	(७)
सोपरिकर &c. [The rest as usual, a word or two	
only differing].	
दूतक [.] पुत्रभट्टादित्ययशा लिखितं संधिविग्र ..	(१५)
... सं २८६ वैशाख व ६॥	(१६)
स्वहस्ता मम	

TRANSLATION OF PLATE II.

Śrīśilā. the great Māheśvara, whose other name, procured for him by the enjoyment.was Dharmāditya, commands persons in office or holding commissions great (and small) and others " Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I (have assigned) a field named on the northern side of the river, in the village of Raksara-putra (?) in Pālātīrolahma (?) and also a field in the village of Udrapadraka, to the assembly of the revered mendicant priests coming from the four quarters, and residing in the monastery constructed by for (providing) clothing, food, and (the means of) sleeping and sitting... .. and for the purpose of (providing) fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, oil for lamps for the glorious Buddhas, and for the repairing of the monastery (lit. putting aright the broken parts). These fields are granted by pouring water, along with their appurtenances, &c &c " (the rest as usual).

The son Bhattāditya-yaśāh is executive officer here. Written 286 on the 6th day of Vaiśākha Vadya.

My own hand.

A MORBI COPPER-PLATE WITH TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume II, 1873, pp. 257f.]

(This article appeared with the following prefatory Note by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary : " Through the kindness of Major J. W. Watson a loan of this plate was obtained from the Morbi Darbar more than a year ago and a facsimile made, which, however, has only recently been printed. There were two plates a few years ago, but the first has gone amissing : it is supposed that it was lent and never returned. This is greatly to be regretted, as it doubtless gave the genealogy of the royal donor. The date is given in words which interpret the figures for Samvat 585 in the penultimate line. In this the figure 5 is recognisable enough ; the vertical stroke with a line over it for 8, though found elsewhere, is less usual.—Ed. ") N. B. U.

TRANSCRIPT.

क्षणअप्रहारवास्तव्य ० शाण्डिल्य-संगोत्रधर्मत्रायणीय ० सत्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणन ...
जाज्जाकाम्यां सीहादित्यसुताभ्या पयःपुष्पमाशशाङ्कानपनार्णवस्थितेः संतानोपभोग्यतया
मार्तण्डमण्डलाश्रयाणि स्वर्भानौ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवादि सत्रह्महृ [क्रि] यार्थ पित्रोरात्मनश्च
पुण्ययशोभिद्वन्द्वये प्रतिपादितमन्तर्यामिणमुपभुञ्जतोर्न केनापि देशाधिपतिना व्यसिधेः परि-
पन्था न वा करणीयो भाविभिश्व भूमिपतिभिर्गुप्तद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलम-
नित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रचलमाकृताहतपद्मिनीपत्रदलस्थितजल[ल]बलोलमाकल-
य्य दुःपरिहरदुःखं क्षणिकं च जीवितमालोच्य[क्त्वा ?] तिस्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्थजान-
मनिलसंगित्रीप्राशिखाचंचलमालोक्य वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरमरलमण्डलशरदिद्विद्वुनिधवल-
यशोवितानाच्छाद्य नभोभागमिवात्मानमिच्छद्विरातिस्वच्छमनोभिरभ्यर्थनानुबध्यमानैर-
यमस्मद्वर्म्मदायोनुर्मतव्यः । व्यानादिमुनिनिगाडिनपौर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपंचमहा-
पातकसमयश्चावर्ण्यं च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याचनानुबध्यमनैरिदमनुस्मर्त्तव्यं स्मृति-
[१]
कारोपदिष्टं वचः ॥ वष्टि वरि [र्ध] सहस्राणि रवर्मे निष्ठति भूमिः । आच्छेताचातु-
र्भना च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् । रवदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् [नु] वसुंधरा । गवां शत-
सहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं ॥ विंध्याटवीध्वतोया [ह्यु] शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
महाहयो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहाणिनः ॥ यानीह वृत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्जनानि धर्म्मार्थ-
यशस्कुराणि । निर्माल्यवातप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरावृत्ती ॥ इति कमल-
बलावुचिबुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ॥ सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्या न हि
पुष्टैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ पैचाशीत्या युतेतीने समानां शतपंचके । गोमै वडावदो
[१]
नृपः सोपरागेर्क-मण्डले ॥ लसद्वर्णालीकं समुचितपदव्यासरुचिरं सदाग्नायेनाग्रं नृगनधु

[६ ?] वकल्यस्य नृपतेः । मुखस्थेनाभानं द्विजमिव शिवरवस्तिवचसा लिखज्जहागोद [:]
 श्रुचिन् [र] मना [:] शासनमिति संवत् ५८५ फाल्गुनसुदि ५ स्वहस्तोदय श्रीजाईकस्य
 शंकरसुनदेदकेषु [नो] त्किरित ॥ ६ ॥

TRANSLATION.

[It] is given by pouring water to the Brahmins—and Jājñaka, the sons of Sihāditya, residing in the—hmana Agrahāra, of the Sāndilya gotra and student of the Maitrāyaṇiya [Śākhā], to be enjoyed by their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, and the oceans endure, on the occasion of Rāhu's touching the disk of the sun, for the performance of the Brahman ceremonies—Bali, Caru and Vaisvadeva, with a view to the increase of the holy merit and fame of himself and parents. No country officer shall hinder or obstruct these two in the enjoyment of this. And future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind the common fruit arising from grants of land, the transitoriness of all power, and the fact that humanity is as fleeting as a drop of water standing on the leaf of a lotus blown over by a violent breeze ; seeing that life is full of ineradicable misery, and momentary ; observing that the store of wealth accumulated with excessive toil is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp open to (in contact with) wind ; desirous of being free from censure ; wishing themselves to be, like the regions of the sky, shrouded in a veil of glory as pure as the light of the autumnal moon with her spotless disk ; and endowed with the purest mind—should, at our solicitations, confirm this grant of ours. And having reflected on the declaration of the covenant about the five cardinal sins led down by pious Kings of old, and mentioned by the Munis Vyāsa and others, they should, at our repeated solicitations, remember this saying of the authors of the Smṛtis :—The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years ; while he who resumes it or approves of its being so resumed, dwells in hell for as many years. He who takes away the land granted by himself or others incurs the sin of killing a hundred thousand cows. The resusers of Brahman gifts are born as large serpents dwelling in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya. What good man will resume the gifts made by former kings for the sake of religious merit, prosperity, and fame, which are like flowers once worn or matter vomitted ? Thus reflecting that prosperity and hu-

man life are as fleeting as drop of water on a lotus-leaf, and calling to mind all that is said here, one should not blot out the fame of others. Five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this when the disk of the sun was eclipsed. Jajñāgya, of a pure mind has written this charter of the king who rivals Nrga and Nahusa - a charter containing graceful lines of letters, charming on account of the apt words, distinguished by its various precepts, and shining by its good and auspicious utterances, like a Brahman whose mouth abounds with such. Samvat 585, 5th of the bright half of Phālguna Sign-manual of Jāinka. Engraved by Deddaka, the son of Śamkara.

TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF A COPPER-PLATE
GRANT OF THE FIFTH CENTURY A. D.,
FOUND IN GUJARAT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society, Volume X, 1871-74, pp. 19ff.]

The paper was read on the 13th of April 1871, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—N. B. U.

The Tāmra-patra, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure of submitting to the Society to-day, consists of two rectangular plates, each $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $6\frac{3}{4}$ wide, originally joined together by two thick rings passing through two holes in one of the longer sides of each. One of the rings is lost, but the other is in a good state of preservation, and has a conical ball of copper attached to it, on which the seal is impressed. The lines of engraved letters are parallel to the longer sides. The copper-plate was found in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Aderji, G. G. M. C, and sent to me to be deciphered and translated.

The characters are a variety of the Devanāgarī, resembling that given in the fourth line of Prinsep's Table, which was used in Gujarat in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is, however, some difference in the formation of several letters. The ञ differs from Prinsep's in having the upper-most horizontal stroke turned up and twisted, and the ञ looks like the Roman B with the perpendicular stroke placed horizontally. There are two varieties of ञ, one resembling that given by Prinsep, and occurring also in the Girnar Inscriptions, which consists of two perpendicular strokes on a horizontal one, that to the left being twisted at the upper end ; and the other looks like the Greek p. The ण and the mātrā look exactly like those in the modern Devanāgarī. The writing is incorrect in many places, which circumstance increased the difficulty of deciphering.

The language of the copper-plate is Sanskrit. It purports to be a grant of a village named Racchcharām in the district of Ankule-

śvara in Gujrat, to one Nārāyana, the son of Govinda, a Rgvedi Brahman of Kāśyapa Gotra, residing in Abhicchatra. The king who granted it belonged to the Gurjjara dynasty, and was named Dadda.* His father's name was Jayabhata, and his grand father's Dada. From the sign-manual it appears that Dadda had another name, which was Praśānta-rāga, and Jayabhata was also called Yita-rāga. But these sound like euphonious epithets or titles, and could hardly have been proper names, for the first means "one whose passions are cooled," and the other "one whose passions have disappeared or ceased to exist," expressions which persons who are religious, or affect to be so, delight in. The writer or engraver was a minister of the name of Reva, the son of Mādhava. From the opening benediction, the seat of the dynasty appears to have been Broach. The date is Jyestha, amāvāsyā or new-moon day, 417 of Śaka Nṛpa, i. e., of the era now known as Śalivāhana's, corresponding to the 9th of June, 495 A. D. The seal bears the name of Dada, grand-father of the reigning sovereign.

The grant is in the usual style of such documents, but bears what I should consider a family likeness to the Valabhi or other Gujarat copper-plates. Several expressions may be quoted in support of this view. The reading, for instance, of some of the verses from Mahābhārata, is the same in all these plates, while in the Southern grants it is different.

In the Seventh Volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is published a transcript of a grant made by a king of the Gurjjara dynasty, along with some observations on it. A fresh transcript of it has been given by Prof. Dowson in the first Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series. In this a few of the mistakes of the first have been corrected. Prof. Dowson has collated with it another grant of the same king,

* The word is Śrīmaddadda. If Śrī only were taken to be the honorific prefix, as it always is, the name would be Maddadda. If Śrīmad, it would be Dadda. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles favour the latter supposition, though Śrīmad, I must say, I have never found used as a prefix to the names of kings; and even in the present plate, the prefix is Śrī in the case of Jayabhata, the second king. The same remark holds good in the case of the name Dadda.

similar to it in most respects, and given facsimiles of both. The copper-plates were discovered at Kaira by Dr. Burns. These we will distinguish by the Nos 2 and 3, as the Professor has done. The present grant is by the same king as these two, the reasons for the statement being decisive. The king in Dr. Burns' plates belongs to the Gurjjara dynasty, as in the present grant. His name is Prasānta-rāga, as given in the sign manual, which, however, the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal read Prasānga-raga; and his father's name is Jayabhata and also Vitarāga. The writer's name is, as in the present copper-plate, Reva, and six lines of the eulogy of one of the kings correspond, word for word, in all the three Ankuleśvarā and Broach are also mentioned there, though the occasion is different. But the grand-father's name is Dada in the present copper-plate, and Sāmanta-datta in both of Dr. Burns', and the second name of the reigning sovereign given in the body of these latter is, according to Prof. Dowson, Śrīdatta-kuśālī, while it is Dadda in the former. Now, there can be no question that the Professor has misread the name of the king; for the word Kuśālī means "enjoying health," and is used in most of the grants I have seen, where it is only thus to be interpreted. The usage of the country, to this day, also requires that this word, or an expression equivalent to it, should be used by the writer of a letter with reference to himself, before speaking of the matter in hand. Besides, in the present copper-plate and in No. 2, the word preceding Kuśālī has the nominative termination (visarga) attached to it, which shows that Kuśālī is an independent word, and forms no part of the one that precedes. Again, the word Śrī is a mere honorific prefix used before the names of kings; so that the real name is reduced to Datta. Now, referring to the facsimiles, I find that the letters the Professor reads as two t's are exactly similar to the first, which he takes to be a d, and are clearly two d's. The name therefore, is Dadda. Again, in the facsimile of No 3, the king's name looks like Daddam. But the letter which resembles m, and is so read by Professor Dowson is in reality the symbol¹ for the Jihvā-mūliya, which according to Pāṇini, VI. I. 3. 37, is an optional substitute for visarga before a hard guttural. The name therefore, may be taken to be the same

1 I have since seen this symbol, before 𑀓 in several Valabhi plates.

in all the three plates. Now, as to Sāmanta-datta, I am inclined to doubt the faithfulness of the facsimiles in this case. For, as the name stands there, it is without the almost indispensable prefix of Śrī which we find in the case of both the other names and in almost all other copper-plates. This Śrī has perhaps been misread by the decipherer as Sā. And the Datta being in this case also Dadda, the name is very likely the same, or nearly the same, as in the present plate. Or perhaps the word Sāmanta, signifying as it does "a subordinate prince or chief," may have been used in Nos 2 and 3 as a title. The dates also of Dr. Burns' plates are perfectly consistent with the supposition of their common origin. That of No 2 is 380, and of No 3, 385, i. e., the first grant was made 37 and the second 32 years before the present one. And 37 years are not too long a period for a single reign. Prof. Dowson and the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal consider the dates 380 and 385 to refer to the era of Vikramāditya, but the only reason is the use of the word Samvatsara. This word, however, means simply a year, and does not indicate any reference to a particular era. And this is confirmed by its use in the present grant, with the expression Śaka-Nrpa-kāla before it. The common origin of the three grants, therefore, would necessitate the dates 380 and 385 being taken to refer to the Saka era. For if they were not so taken, the interval between this and the other two grants would be about 171 and 166 years.

But as some antiquarians think that Saka-Nrpa-kāla is often confounded with the Samvat era "even by indigenous writers,"¹ it may be said that notwithstanding the use of that expression in the present copper-plate its date 417, as well as those of Dr. Burns', may refer to the era of Vikramāditya. This point can, however, be easily determined. In the present grant, mention has been made of the occurrence of a solar eclipse on the day on which it was executed. I wrote to my respected friend Prof. Keru Lakshman, a few days ago, to ascertain if there was such an eclipse on the Amāvāsyā or conjunction day of Jyestha in the year 417 of Śālivāhana, and also whether there was a possibility of an eclipse on the same day of the same year of the Samvat era. His answer is that, on a rough calculation, he finds

¹ See Dr. Bhau Daji on Merutunga's Theravāhi, JBRRAS, Vol. IX, page 156, 32 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

that on that day, which, supposing the era to be Śālivāhana's, corresponds to the 9th of June, 495 A. D., the distance of the sun from the moon's ascending node was about $12^{\circ} 14'$. He therefore thinks that there was a solar eclipse on that day: but it must have been a partial one, and have begun in the afternoon, a short time before sunset. But on that day of that year of the Samvat era, there was, he says, no possibility of an eclipse, since the sun's distance from the node was about 8 signs and 9° . This, therefore, proves that the date of the present copper-plate, and hence those of Dr. Burns' No. 2 and No. 3, refer to the Śāka era; and that the use of the word Samvasara does not by any means show the era to be Vikrama's. And, by the way, it would also appear that it is more reasonable to regard the era used in other Gujārat copper-plates, such as those of the Valabhi dynasty, to be that of the Śāka king, than to assume it as the Samvat, since the three plates of the Gurjāra dynasty I have been considering, may well be taken to indicate the prevalent usage. And this supposition thoroughly agrees with the Valabhi era discovered by Colonel Tod from a Somnath Inscription, which began in 319 A. D. One would naturally take this era to commence from the date of Bhatārka, the founder of the family, and not from that of any of his successors, as Mr. Wachen has done without any good reason, though one of these may have brought it for the first time into use. The date of the copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena, the sixth in descent from Bhatārka, published in the Seventh volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, is 365,¹ which if taken to refer to the Samvat would correspond to 309 A. D., i. e., ten years before the foundation of the dynasty. But if, however, the era were assumed to be that of Śālivāhana, the date would correspond to 443 A. D., that is, the interval between the first king of the family and the person sixth in descent from him would be 124 years, which, I think, is a reasonable period. The editors of the

1 I have shown in a paper since read at a meeting of the Society that this date must be read as 356, and that the most probable starting point for the Valabhi era is the coronation of Droṇasimha, the second son of Bhatārka, and in another, published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, that the grantor in the plate referred to in the text, is Śilāditya II, the eighth in descent from Bhatārka. [Both these papers have been printed, ante, N. B. U.]

Journal, simply from the occurrence of the word Samvatsara, take the era used to be Vikrama's, and give up Colonel Tod's discovery of the Valabhi era, from its inconsistency with their supposition. But we see that the two dates are perfectly reconcilable if we take the era of the Śaka king instead of the Samvat.

Mr. Thomas has reprinted, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, the two papers in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal which I have noticed with the remark "that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand even in a greater degree an exact and formal definition."

The present copper-plate grant throws, I think, much light on those questions. We have seen that the era used in this and the other grants of the Gurjjara dynasty is that of the Śaka king ; that the word Samvatsara does not by any means denote the Samvat era, and that if the usage indicated by these grants were understood to be applicable to Valabhi plates, their dates would be consistent with the discovery of Colonel Tod.

The seat of the Gurjjara dynasty was Broach. But this appears to have been the name of the city, as well as of the country around it. In the Narmadā-Māhātmya, Bhrgu-Kaccha is mentioned as a holy place on the northern bank of the river, about two miles long from east to west,¹ and the descriptions of many other similar places farther down the river wind up with the remark, "Thus ends the description of such and such a place in Bhrgu-Kaccha." Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, also speaks of a kingdom of Broach. Ankuleśvara, mentioned in the plate, has preserved its name unaltered.

About four miles to the north-east of Elas, in the vicinity of which the copper-plate was found, is the village of Walner, which seems to correspond to the Vāranera of the grant. It is eight miles to the South-west of Ankuleśvara. The river Varandā appears to be the modern Wand Kharee ; and about a mile and a half from Walner is the village of Surtham, answering to the Sarathuam [or Arathuam] of our plate. Śunthavadaka, which is

1 रेवाया उत्तरे तीरे गभीरं चाभिचारिणि । प्रागुदकप्रवणे दशे तीर्य-कोटिविभूषितम् ॥ कांशप्रमाणं तत्क्षेत्रप्रासादशतं संकुलंचकार मुद्रितो भूयः ॥

mentioned as the eastern boundary of Rāochavam, I have not been able to discover on the map, though there is such a place as Kothadara there. But from the other places I have found, Rāochavam, the village conveyed by the grant, appears to be the modern Racheed.

TRANSCRIPT.

- १ ॐ स्वस्ति विजयविक्षेपात् भरुकच्छप्रद्वारनास [श] कात् सकलघनपटलविनिर्गत
रजनीकरकरावबोधितकुमुद-
- २ धवलशय [:] प्रतापस्थाशितनभोमण्डलेनेकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखगतनिहतशत्रुसामन्त
कुलवधूप्रभातसम-
- ३ यरुदितफ [च्छ] लेद्वीयमानविमलनिर्लिशप्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो-
दृष्टवज्रमणिकेतिटरुचिरदी-
- ४ धितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुर [रा] भ्यागतार्थिजन [ना] क्लिष्ट-
परिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानद्विविष्ट-
- ५ पैकसहायधर्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसाद
प्रकाशीकृतविदग्धना-
- ६ गरकस्वभावो विमलगुणपञ्जरक्षितबहुलकलितिमिरानिचयः श्रीमहद्दस्तस्यसूनु [:]
समदप्रतिद्विगजघटा-
- ७ भेदिनिर्लिशविक्रमप्रकटितमृगपतिकिसो [क्षो] रवीर्य [र्या] वलेपः पयोनिधिकृत
उभयतटप्ररूढघ [व] नलेख [खा] विहृतनिरंकुशदानप्रवा-
- ८ हप्रवृत्तदिग्दन्तिविभ्रमगुणसमूहः स्फटिककर्पूरपिण्डपाण्डुरयशश्चन्दनचर्चितसमुन्नतगगन
लक्ष्मीपयोध-
- ९ रोत्सङ्गः श्रीजयभटस्तस्यात्मजः प्रतिहृतसकलजगद्व्यापिदोषाधिकारविजृम्भितसन्तति-
मोवृत्ति [ति] रधिकगुरुस्नेह-
- १० संपन्नविमलदशोद्भासितजीवलोकः परमबोधसमानुगतो विपुलगुर्जरनृपान्म [न्व] यप्र-
दीपतामुपगतः
- ११ समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहारजाधिराजश्रीमहदः कुशली सर्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयगति-
प्रमकूटयु-
- १२ क्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरादीन्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपुण्ययशो-

1 This may I think be also read as भरुकच्छप्रद्वार though the letters exactly look like the म I find in other places in the copper plate.

- १३ मिश्रद्वये अभिच्छत्रवास्तव्यत [?] चातुर्विंशसा [सं] मान्यकश्यपश्च (स) गोत्र
बह्वचसब्रह्मचारिभट्टगोविंदस्त-
- १४ स्यसूनुभट्टनर [नारा] यण [णा] य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाभिहोत्रपञ्च [ख] महाज-
[य] ज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पण [णा] र्थ अङ्गुलेश्वरविषय [या] न्तःपातिराच्छु
- १५ वं ग्रामोस्याघ [घा] टस्थ [ा] नानि पूर्वतः वारणेग्रामः दक्षिणतः वरंदनद [दी]
पश्चिमतः शुंठवडकग्रामः उत्तरत-
- १६ अ [स ?] रदुअंग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघाटनविशुद्धे ग्रामः से, द्रव्यसपरिकरसधान्यहिर-
ण्यदेयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक-
- १७ समस्तराजकीयन [याना] मप्रवेश्यम [मा] चंद्रर्का [दार्का] र्णवक्षितिसरितपर्वत-
समानकालीनपुत्रपौत्र, न्वयकमोपभोग्यपूर्वप्रप्तदेव
- १८ ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जमभ्यांतरसिद्ध [माभ्यन्तरासिद्ध्या] शकनूपकालातीतसंवच्छ [त्स]-
रशतश्वतुष्टेयसप्तदशाधिक्रेयेष्ट [ज्येष्ठा] मावास्यासूर्यग्रा-
- १९ हे उदकादिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं [तः] यतोऽस्योचित [या] ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः
कर्षयतो भुजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिश-
- २० तो वा न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य [:] तथागामिभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्षा
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य बिन्दूल्ले, लन्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्या-
- २१ णि तृणाग्रलभजलबिन्दुचण्व [ख] जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विसे [शे] षोयमस्मद्-
[दा] योनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च तथाचोक्तं-
- २२ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलम् ॥ यश्च [श्वा] ज्ञानतिमिरावृतमतिरा-
- २३ च्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा स पञ्च [ख] भिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त [:]
स्यादिति उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्याशे [से]
- २४ न व्याशे [से] न षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेप्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ यानिह दत्तानि पुरा-
- २५ तनानि दानानि धर्मार्थयस [श] स्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत । खदत्तां परदत्तां वा य-
- २६ त्नाद्रक्षजराधिपः [प] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । लिखितमिदं संधि-
विग्रह [हा] धिकृतरवेण म (मा) धवसुतेन श्रीबीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोर्यं मम
- २७ श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य.

TRANSLATION.

Security [freedom] from interruption in the race of victory calculated to violate the gate of the city of Bharukaccha. There was Śrīmad-Dada,—whose fame and glory, as purely bright as the lotus blown open by the rays o' the moon darting forth from an envelope of clouds, filled the cavity of the sky ;—the bright achievements of whose sword the wives of the inimical chiefs slain by him in the innumerable battles, sang as it were in the morning by means of their cries of lamentation,—whose person was adorned by a crown shining with the refulgent rays of a crore of diamonds polished by being rubbed against the lotus-like feet of gods, Brahmans, and preceptors,—whose stock of religious desert, which is the only thing that enables one to go to Heaven, was always increasing in consequence of his liberally fulfilling the desire for wealth of the begging poor, the helpless, the distressed, and of the belated way-farer,—and who, propitiating proud damsels angry on account of love-quarrels by addressing sweet words to them, showed himself to be a skilful gallant,—and who dispersed by his many bright virtues the thick darkness of Kali. His son was Jaya-bhata, who showed the valour of a young lion, by achieving with his sword the destruction of the herds of elephants belonging to his enemies,—and who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty,¹ realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters,—and who, on the high cloud-breasts² of the sky-Laksmī, rubbed sandal-wood ointment in the shape of his glory as pure as a crystal or a ball of camphor. His son Śrīmad-Dada, who has dispelled the darkness that grew thick and intense through the power of evil, and overspread the whole earth,—who has purified all the quarters by his very great kindness,³ and embellished the world of the living,—who possesses true knowledge, and has become the luminary of the Gurjjara dynasty,—who has obtained the five

1 There is a play on the word Dēna here, which means, ' giving ' as well as the ' humour flowing from the temples of an elephant.' The other words in the compound may also be interpreted in two ways.

2 A play on the word Payodhara, which means ' a cloud ' as well as the ' female breast '.

3 A play on the word Sneha, which means ' oiliness ' as well as ' kindness.'

great sounds, and is the great king of kings,—enjoying good health, commands all governors of districts and sub-divisions; all villagers; those in office or unemployed, great men, chief men, &c. :—

Be it known to you, that for the increase of my father's, mother's and my own, holiness and goodness as regards the next world, I have granted, by pouring water, on the new-moon day of Jyestha, in the year of the Śaka king four hundred and seventeen, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, to Bhatta Nārāyana,—the son of Bhatta Govinda, residing in Abhicchatra,—respected among persons conversant with the four Vedas,—of the Kāśyapa Gotra,—and student of Bahvrcha (Rgveda), for the proper execution of the rites of Bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra, the five great sacrifices, &c., the village of Rācchhavam, situated in the district of Ankuleśvara, the boundaries of which are the village of Vāra-nera in the east, the river Varanda to the south, the village of Śunthavadaka to the west, and Sarathuam to the north,—this village, with these boundaries specified, along with the hamlets and whatever pertains to it; along with the revenue in grain or gold, and with whatever may be raised on the land by labour except what in the village may have been granted to Gods and Brahmans before—the said grant not to be interfered with by the delegates of the king, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the sea, the earth, rivers, and mountains shall endure, and to be enjoyed from father to son (lit. son to grandson). Therefore, no obstruction should be made to him, who, in virtue of the rights conferred by this Brahman grant, ploughs the land or causes it to be ploughed, enjoys it or makes another enjoy it or assigns it to another person. So also should future kings, whether of our race or others, knowing the fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, and bearing in mind that prosperity is unsteady like a drop [of water] and transitory, and life as fleeting as a drop of water at the end of a blade of grass, confirm and continue this our grant, as if it were their own. For it is said :—“ Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit to each lasts only so long as he is in possession. ” And he who, with his good sense enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, should take away this land or approve another person's doing so,

would be as sinful as if he had committed the five great sins and five minor sins. For it is said by the revered Vyāsa, the editor of the Vedas :—"He who grants land lives in Heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being so taken away, passes so many years in hell. The grants made in past times with the view that they might conduce to raise a man's moral desert, wealth, or fame, are like flowers worn and withered. What good man would resume them ? O King, O Thou, the best of the lords of the earth ! do maintain with care a grant of land made whether by thyself or anybody else ; to maintain a grant is a greater virtue than to make one ".

This is written by Reva, the son of Mādhava, counsellor in peace and war. This is the sign-manual of myself, Praśāntarāga, the son of Śrī-Vitarāga.

ON THE VALABHI CHRONOLOGY

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume III, 1874, pp. 303f.]

(The following appeared as a letter, dated 24th August 1874, to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, in reply to a letter from Mr. Jas. Fergusson, charging Sir R. G. Bhandarkar with having "so curiously misquoted him," in his paper on the Interpretation of the Valabhi Dates (printed earlier here). Mr Fergusson's letter appears in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, pp. 235f.)—N. B. U.

Allow me to say a few words with regard to the charge of misquotation brought against me by Mr. Fergusson.¹ He himself quotes the passage in my article, on which he founds the charge, in a mutilated form ; for he omits an important clause at the end, which is calculated to throw light on my real meaning. The whole passage is :—

"Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhi era, but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 year, or, according to the old reading 330 years, is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhatārka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, *supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Dronasimha's Coronation*" The words in italics have not been given by Mr Fergusson.

It would, I think, appear from this that my meaning is as follows :—On the supposition that the era of the Valabhi dynasty began with the founder of the dynasty or with Dronasimha's Coronation,—the only rational suppositions that can be made,—it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years or thereabouts to the six reigns,—a period which is too long, if the dates in the Valabhi plates were taken to refer to the Valabhi era. This necessity has, " escaped Mr Fergusson's notice," i. e., he has left out of sight the fact that the only rational hypothesis is that the era should have derived its initial date from either of the two events ; and also the consequences of the fact, viz that it

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, pp. 235f.

would be necessary to assign too long a period, i. e., 272 or 330 years to these six reigns. This is my meaning. I have not said categorically that Mr. Fergusson assigns 272 or 330 years to the six reigns. It was thoroughly immaterial to my argument how many years he actually assigned to those reigns, which assignment must be quite arbitrary. My object was to give reasons why the Valabhi dates should not be referred to the era of the dynasty, and this I have done in the sentence complained of by Mr. Fergusson. I think the gist of my paper as a whole, and the concluding clause I have italicized, ought to have saved me from being misunderstood; but since they have not proved adequate to the task, I see I ought not to have been so brief as I was at the end of the article. I have so little succeeded in making myself understood, that Mr. Fergusson still says that no one has "given any reason why the Valabhi Kings should use any other era than that that bears their name." I cannot say why they should not have used their era, but I believe they did not use it; for if they did, it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years to the six reigns on the only rational suppositions about its initial date stated above. But if they did use the so-called Valabhi era, the era could not have been theirs. But of this more below.

The period of 120 years assigned by Mr. Fergusson to these six reigns appears to me to be too long; for though the reigns are six, the generations are only three; for, the sixth individual, Guhasena, was the grandson of the first Bhatārka, and the usual average of twenty years is held applicable in these cases in which the reigns represent so many generations. Bhatārka must have been a middle-aged man, when he founded the kingdom; and the period between the time when a man arrives at that age and the death of his grandson is in very rare cases so long as 120 years. The tradition which Mr. Fergusson adduces in support of his view is very vague. Supposing it to be trustworthy in every way—which it is not, as I will give reasons to believe—Skandagupta may have reigned for even 20 or 30 years after 141, and Śrī Dharasena may have begun his reign even 20 years before 272, in which case, the duration of the six reigns would be reduced to 91 or 81 years. But the tradition itself, though interesting as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the

particulars. For in the first place it makes Cakrapāṇi, the son of Prandat, who is certainly the Cakrapālita, son of Parnadatta of the Junagadh Inscription,¹ Viceroy of the father of Kumāragupta, and grandfather of Skandagupta, while the Inscription represents Parnadatta as Skandagupta's Viceroy, and Cakrapālita as Governor of a certain town, appointed to that place by his own father. Again, Skandagupta is represented as a weak king in the tradition; while his Inscriptions, magniloquent though they are, do show that he must have been a powerful monarch. Lastly, Bhatārka is mentioned as having assumed the title of king, while Valabhi copper-plates speak of him as a Senāpati and represent Dronasimha his second son, to have first assumed the title² The tradition, therefore, is not entitled to any reliance as regards the particulars. It simply gives us what was known before that the Valabhis succeeded the Guptas.

Now as to the general question of the Valabhi chronology, and of the era to which the dates in the copper-plate grants are to be referred, I have recently seen reasons to modify the opinion I expressed more than two years ago. Even then the mention of Valabhi by Hwan Thsang as a flourishing city, and of Druvapatta as its king, seemed to me not to harmonize with my view; but having brought the known kings of that dynasty upto 434 A. D.³, I was in hopes that further researches might bring to light the names of other kings, so as to bring the dynasty down to Hwan Thsang's time. But three copper-plates have since turned up, yet none of them goes beyond the last king of the former plates, Śīlāditya II. And the characters of the Valabhi grants are so different from, and so much modern than, those of Gautamīputra's Inscription at Nasik, which I have recently translated, along with most of the other Nasik Inscriptions, that it appears that from two to three centuries must have elapsed between Gautamīputra and the Valabhis. Gautamīputra I have, in common with Mr. Fergusson,

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, pp. 122, 123

2 Mr. Wathen's plate, JASB, Vol. IV, and another in my possession containing a grant by Guhasena, not yet translated.

3 Ind. Ant. Vol. I, page 45, and JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 75. [These articles are printed in the preceding pages of this volume.]—N. B. U.

assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century. The Valabhi characters resemble very much those in the Cālukya grants of the early part of the eighth century.¹ For these and other reasons I have begun to think that the Valabhi dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka. But that they cannot be referred to what is considered as the era of the dynasty, I still maintain, for the reasons I have given in my paper and explained above. It appears to me, there is some confusion about this era. Albiruni calls it the era of Ballaba and Col. Tod's Somnāth Inscription, the era of Śrīmad Balabhi as if Ballaba or Balabhi were the name of an individual. But in the dynasty of Bhatārka there is no king of that name, so that it is doubtful, whether the era was really of Bhatārka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was in use in Surāstra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhi dates may be referred to it. Or more likely, since the Guptas who preceded that dynasty, introduced their era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference in effect, since the initial dates of both are the same. I thus see much reason for the present to agree with Mr. Fergusson in the Valabhi chronology he has given in his paper, except in so far as he has adopted the dates misread by the previous translators,² though there is difference between us as to the era, which is rather of a verbal nature. I therefore arrange the Valabhi kings thus :—

Guhasena (grant not yet translated) 250 G. or 568 A. D.

Dharasena II (grant translated by Wathen) 272 G or 590 A.D.

Śilāditya I (grant translated by me,³ Ind. Ant. Vol. I, p. 45f.)
286 G. or 604 A. D.

Dharasena IV (two grants translated by me,⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. I,
pp 14ff and 45f) 326 G. or 644 A. D.

Śilāditya II (two grants) 356 G or 674 A D.

1 JBBRAS, Vol. III.

2 JRAS, Volume IV (New Series).

3 This is included in this volume earlier.—[N. B. U.]

4 This is also included in this volume earlier.—[N. B. U.]

**A REVISED TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF
A CALUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANT**

**WITH REMARKS ON THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY
OF THE EARLY KINGS OF THE CALUKYA DYNASTY.**

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XIV, 1878-80 pp.16ff.]

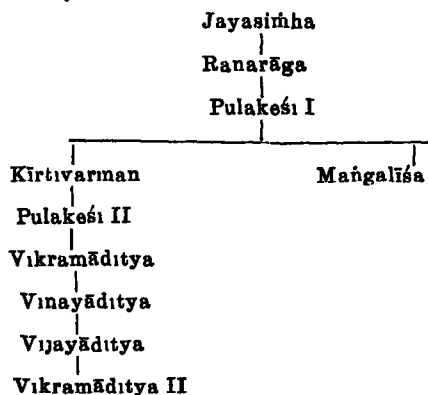
(Read before the Society on the 6th of April 1878.)

The copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure to submit to the Society to-day, was procured by Government at the request of Mr. James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and was referred to the Society for remarks. The Secretary had the kindness to forward it to me, and as I had been informed that it was a grant of the Calukya dynasty, in the early history of which there are still so many doubtful points, I took it up with eagerness, hoping by its assistance to clear up some of these ; but, on reading it, was disappointed to find that it was identically the same as that translated by Prof. Bal Gangadhar Shastri, and published in the Second Volume of the Journal of this Society. I have, however, prepared a fresh transliteration, strictly faithful, reproducing even the mistakes of the original, and a translation. But there is no difference of any importance between this and Prof. Bal Shastri's. He has in one place read ॠ and अ as ॠ . I have replaced the vowels. My translation also varies a little from his, especially in the latter part.

This is all that I need have said on the present occasion ; but there are one or two very important points with regard to the chronology of this dynasty, as gathered from Inscriptions recently published, which remain doubtful, and which I have been often revolving in my mind with a view to be able to throw light on them. I will, therefore, embrace this opportunity to discuss them. But before I proceed, it will be necessary to summarize the information that we possess about the earlier Calukya kings.

Sir Walter Elliot was the first antiquarian who, from an examination of certain Inscriptions, published a genealogy and a short account of this dynasty, in the Fourth Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Subsequently he gave an

amended list in a number of the Madras Literary Journal. But facsimiles or transcripts of the Inscriptions from which he derived his information were not published, and when other documents were subsequently discovered, it became a difficult matter to reconcile, in some cases, the information obtained from these with that given by him, and there were some inconsistencies even in the two lists he had published. He had, however, made a large collection of Inscriptions, a good many of which he himself had not examined. One copy of the Deccan series of this collection, he says in a letter addressed to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, he forwarded at the time to the Bombay Literary Society; but it is not forthcoming. Another he presented to the Literary Society of Madras, a third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a fourth he reserved for his own use. This last was subsequently presented to the Library of the Edinburgh University, and now it is in the hands of Mr. Fleet, who has been publishing several important Inscriptions from it in the Indian Antiquary. In the mean time, a photograph of a valuable Inscription of this dynasty from Iwulli or Aihole was published in the Volume issued by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities in Western India; and another, in the cave at Badami, was discovered and published by Mr. Burgess. From these materials, and from the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob in the Third Volume of the Journal of this Society, the following genealogy of the early Cālukya kings may be deduced, which to my mind is entirely satisfactory:—



The names of the first six kings are given in the Aihole Inscription composed by a Jain of the name of Rāvikīrti. One of them,

Maṅgalīśa, is not mentioned in the grants executed by subsequent kings, and the reason is obvious, for the object was to give the pedigree of the grantor, and not the names of all the kings that reigned before him. The Inscription at Badami, however, was engraved at the orders of that king, and his having occupied the throne is alluded to in the subsequent grants, including the one before the Society to-day, where it is said that Pulakeśi II, by his power, got back his own kingdom and subjugated those of other kings. *Maṅgalīśa*, as is evident from Ravikīrti's Inscription, intended to transmit the sovereignty to his own son, passing over Pulakeśi, but the latter baffled his endeavours. This Pulakeśi is represented, in almost all the grants in which his name is mentioned, to have defeated Harsavardhana, the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India in the time of Harsavardhana. The Pulakeśi, therefore, whom he met in Mahārāstra must have been the same king, i. e., Pulakeśi II

The genealogy given above agrees with Sir Walter Elliot's first list. But between Pulakeśi II and Vikramāditya he inserts two names--Amara and Ādityavarmā. Since in most of the plates Vikramāditya is styled the beloved son of Pulakeśi, and in one of Sir LeGrand Jacob's grants, his eldest brother is named Indrāditya, and in another, Candrāditya, it follows that Pulakeśi made Vikramāditya, though a younger son, his successor, and probably appointed the others to rule over other provinces. These may be the Amara and Ādityavarmā of Sir Walter Elliot. The names of these two princes, somewhat disguised, occur also in the Miraj Inscription published by Mr. Wathen.¹ But the statement that Amara was Pulakeśi's son, Ādityavarmā, Amara's, and Vikramāditya, Ādityavarmā's, must be rejected as occurring in a grant executed about four centuries after they flourished, in favour of that made in a great many contemporary plates.

In the time of Pulakeśi II, Visnuvardhana, his younger brother founded the Eastern branch of the dynasty, which ruled over Tallangana. Another younger brother is the Jayasimha of our plate, whose son Nāgavardhana was the grantor of the village conveyed by it. These are called simple rājas, or chiefs, and appear

1 JRAS, Vols. II and III.

to have been appointed to rule over some petty provinces, and were distinct from the princes of the Eastern line. This last point is indicated by the fact that the seal of the former, attached to the grant before us, bears the expression श्रीजयसिम्ह engraved on it, probably after the name of Jayasimha the first prince; while that of the latter, as found in their grants, has the words श्रीविजयसिद्धिः.¹ This was one of the titles of Visnuvardhana. In Prof. Bal Shastri's first plate this epithet is used before the name of Visnuvardhana,² whence it appears that this prince was identical with the founder of the Eastern line. The device on the seals of these two branches is the same, viz. a crescent on the top, and the sun below. The kings mentioned in Prof. Dowson's plate³ also do not appear to have belonged to the main line. This grant seems to me, from the style, which is so different from that of the other Cālukya plates, and from the omission of the name of the era, which is always given in these latter, to have been forged by somebody in Gujarat, where it was found. No other grant of the early Cālukyas has, to my knowledge, yet been discovered in that province; and in the two points I have mentioned, Prof. Dowson's plate resembles those of the Valabhi and Gūrjara kings.

Some of the dates⁴ given by Sir Walter Elliot are hopelessly inconsistent with those we find in the published grants. Until the originals in which they occur are published, no attempt can be made to reconcile them. But if those occurring in the documents now rendered available to all inquirers, do not conflict with each other, we may rely on their perfect truthfulness. One important Inscription, however, that of Ravikīrti at Aihole, gives a date which is inconsistent with that found in the grant of the Great Pulakeśi. This latter was executed in Śaka 534, which is represented as the third year of his reign, so that Pulakeśi came to the throne, after his uncle Mangalīsa, in 532 Śaka, corresponding 610 A. D. But Ravikīrti represents him to have been reigning, after having conquered all his enemies and defeated the para-

1 Burnell's South Indian Palæography, Pl. A, p. 75.

2 JBERRAS, Vol. II, p. 11.

3 JRAS, Vol. I, N. S.

4 So also is the date 411 Śaka of Pulakeśi I, occurring in an Inscription published by Mr. Wathen in JRAS, Vol. V, p. 345.

mount sovereign of the North, in Śaka 506, corresponding to 586 A. D. The date in the grant appears more probable, since from the account of the Chinese traveller it is clear that the defeat of Harsavardhana must have taken place between the years 618 and 627 A. D. Under these circumstances Dr. Fergusson, as a zealous student of Indian antiquities, and carrying with him the sympathies of all fellow-labourers in the field, feels sorely disappointed with these Inscriptions, and in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, dated 30th January 1873, asks the learned readers of that Journal "whether they can offer any solution of this difficulty, or whether, on the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with such falsifications again in other places"

Mr Fleet, in March 1877, attempts an explanation. He thinks that the Eastern and Western branches of the dynasty separated in Śaka 533, and that Pulakesi was crowned again; and hence the statement in the grant that Śaka 534, or, according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it, 535, was the third year of his reign,—i. e., Pulakesi was actually reigning in Śaka 506, as we are told by Ravikirti, but that he was crowned again in Śaka 533. The separation of the two families could certainly be no sufficient ground for crowning him again, and for neglecting the first years of his reign; and this explanation leaves out of consideration altogether the disagreement of this date with that gathered from the Chinese writer, for Pulakesi could not, according to the statements of these, have defeated Harsavardhana before 506 Śaka or 584 A. D.

Again, Ravikirti gives two other dates as corresponding to his 506 Śaka, viz., 3550 of the Kaliyuga, and 3730 of the era of the war of the Mahābhārata. Now the Śaka era began in Kali 3179, which being subtracted from 3550 of the Inscription, gives 371 as the Śaka year corresponding to Kali 3550, so that, if the Kali era from which Ravikirti calculated is the same as ours, he is perfectly inconsistent with himself.

Dr Buhler removes this inconsistency by referring the date 507¹ (506+1) to the era of Vikrama, for by subtracting 3044,

¹ Since in giving the date as referred to an era, the writers of these documents use an expression which signifies "having elapsed," Dr Buhler and Mr. Fleet think the year next following to be the year that was current when the document was written, and so add one to the given date

which is the number of Kali years that had elapsed before the era began, from 3551 (3550 + 1), we get 507.¹ "It seems evident" to him that the writer has referred his real Vikrama date to the Śaka era, either intentionally or inadvertently. Inadvertently, it is hard to believe, since instead of the ordinary expression, he uses the word शकनामपि युगनाम् in order that they may fit in with his metre, and it must have cost him some conscious effort to devise them. He must, therefore, have done so intentionally. But what could have been his motive? None, that I can see. Besides, as Dr. Buhler himself tells us, the Vikrama era is not used in the Cālukya records, and, I may add, it was never known in the South. But, with all this, the explanation only increases the difficulties we have been considering. It places Pulakesi earlier than the date given in his grant by, not 26 years as before, but by 26 + 135, the latter being the number of years by which the Vikrama is earlier than the Śaka, and necessitates the supposition that the Harsavardhana, the paramount sovereign of the North defeated by him, was not the one usually known by that name, but another, and that the Pulakesi, seen by Hwan Thsang and represented even by him as invincible to Harsavardhana, was also another prince. But no other paramount sovereign of the North, bearing the name and living before the seventh century, has yet been discovered, nor do we know of a Pulakesi living in that century that was not the son of Kirtivarman, and the nephew and successor of Mangalisa. In other words, there was no Harsavardhana for Dr. Buhler's Pulakesi of the fifth century to defeat; nor a Pulakesi to be the invincible rival of the Harsavardhana of the seventh, if the son of Kirtivarman is placed two centuries earlier. The dates in the grants of all subsequent kings of both the branches of the Cālukya family, which at present harmonize with that actually found in Pulakesi's copper-plate, will have, under Dr. Buhler's explanation, similarly, to be made earlier by 135 years.

The fact, however, is that the agreement between the account given by Hwan Thsang and the statements and dates we find in the Cālukya plates is so complete, that it is impossible to doubt that the later Pulakesi, mentioned by Ravikirti, and in the

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 152.

grants, was really the invincible foe of Hwan Thsang's Harsa-vardhana, and must have lived in the seventh century.

Under these circumstances let us see whether we cannot arrive at such an interpretation of the verses in Ravikirti's Inscription as will remove all the discrepancies we have been noticing. They are as follow :—

विशंतु विसहस्रेषु भारताग्रहवादिनः । सम्राज्यशनयुक्तेषु शतैष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ कलेषु पञ्चशतासु च । समासु समनीतासु शकानामपि क्षुप्रजासु ॥

Before proceeding, it must be observed that the eras of the war of the Bhārata and of the Kaliyuga are not two different eras. The Kaliyuga era, when referred to the legendary history of the country, becomes the era of the Bhārata war, since this, according to all authorities, took place at the end of the Dvāpāra and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Similarly, when referred to the most prominent person in the story—the king who after having crushed all his enemies reigned supreme, it becomes the era of Yudhisthira. That the era of Yudhisthira is the same as that of the Kaliyuga appears clear from the statements in the ordinary Hindu Pañcānga or Almanac. "In the Kali age there are six founders of eras. First, there was Yudhisthira in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3,044 years; the second was Vikrama, (who flourished) at Ujjayini, whose era had a run of 135 years; the third was Śālivāhana at Pratisthāna, whose era is to last for 18,000 years."¹ Now, whatever the number of years for which the Śālivāhana era, as the Śaka era is called in modern times, will last, it is certain that it has lasted for 1799 years, and the 1800th year has commenced. Adding 3,044, 135, and 1,800, we get 4,979, which is exactly the present Kali year given in the Pañcānga. So that if the era of Yudhisthira had continued to be used, the present would have been its 4979th year, as it is of the Kali. The two eras, therefore, are one and the same.

Now, the manner in which dates are given in these Inscriptions is "so many years of or after so and so having elapsed," which is expressed by using the locative absolute of the numeral, of a word denoting "year," and of a participle signifying "lapse." The following are the words occurring in the Ślokas :—

1 Ganpat Krishnaji's Pañcānga for Śaka 1800, p. 2.

30,3,000, from the Bhārata war to this, together with 700 years, hundreds, years, 5.

50, in the Kali age, 6, and 500, years of the Śaka kings having elapsed.

Now Dr. Bhau Daji and Mr. Fleet take the first 30,3,000, and 700 together, and form 3,730 from the war of the Bhārata. Out of the next three numerals, i e, 5, hundreds, and 50, by taking 5 to agree with hundreds we have 550 This they tack on to "in the Kali age"; but since this is too small a period for that era, 3,000, which has already been construed with the preceding, is here repeated, and the whole is made 3,550. We have now 6 and 500 left, and this is assigned to the Śaka.

Now the objections to this interpretation are:—First, that the Kali and Bhārata eras are not different Secondly, this repetition of 3,000, after it has once been construed, is altogether arbitrary: why not repeat the hundreds also? Thirdly, while you have the word Samatītasu "having elapsed," to qualify the feminine substantive Samāsu "year,"—in the case of the Śaka, you have no such word before to agree with the substantive Abdesu, and the feminine Samatītasu cannot be brought back, as Abda is either masculine or neuter.

Now, I think that the word Śatesu "hundreds," which we have before Abdesu "years," ought to be Gatesu "having elapsed," and then it will qualify Abdesu, as Atītasu does Samāsu What constitutes the difference between the ण सा and ण गा of the cave characters is that the former has a small stroke in the interior of its semi-ellipse, while the latter has none Now, it is quite possible that the engraver should have easily committed the mistake of putting in a stroke where it was not wanted, especially since the letter with the stroke, he had to engrave just four letters before. And several such mistakes do occur in this Inscription My interpretation, therefore, is this:—

"30,3,000, together with 700, 5 (i e, 3,735) years having elapsed since the war of the Bhārata."—Here the first verse ends.—"In the Kali age, 50, 6, and 500 (i. e. 556) years of the Śaka kings also having elapsed 'This is the sense of the second verse The words 'in the Kali age' may be connected with both, and the ex-

pression does not indicate a particular era, but a certain period in the existence of the world. It is used here in the same way in which, when we begin our religious ceremonies, we use it in mentioning the day of the month and year.

We thus obtain two dates from this Inscription, the Bhārata date, which is the same as the Kali date, 3,735, and the Śaka date 556. Now, subtracting the Kali and Saka equation¹ (3,179) from 3,735, we have 556 as the Śaka corresponding to that Kali date : i. e., the 3,735th year of the Kali was the 556th as the Śaka. Thus Ravikīrti's inconsistency is removed. Again, instead of 506 Śaka for Pulakeśi, we get 556 Śaka or 634 A. D., which perfectly harmonizes with his having begun to reign in Śaka 532, or 610 A. D., and with the date of his defeat of Harsavardhana, which took place between 618 and 627 A. D., since Ravikīrti speaks in 6th 4 A. D., of Pulakeśi having done so before he wrote.

There is another date which does not harmonize with the rest. In the Badami Inscription of Mangalīsa, the 501st year of the Śaka era is mentioned as the tenth of his reign, so that his brother Kirtivarman, whom he succeeded, must have died in 488 Śaka, or 566 A. D. Now, since Pulakeśi, his son, had two younger brothers, he must have been, when his father died, at least five years old, so that when Hwan Thsang saw him, in about 639 A. D., he must have been at least 78 years old. A man verging on 80 can hardly be a man of vigour, as Pulakeśi was when the Chinese pilgrim saw him.

As to this, it must be borne in mind that the grantor of land is not necessarily in every case the reigning sovereign. The Nāgavardhana of our plate, for instance, did not belong to the reigning line of the Cālukya princes, and we have seen that of the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob, two were made by the wife of Vikramāditya's elder brother. There is nothing in the Inscription at Badami to show that Mangalīsa, who dedicates the cave temple to Visnu, and assigns a village for the support of sixteen Brahmins and of recluses, was reigning at the time. On the contrary—from the manner in which he resigns all the religious merit arising from the act, in favour of his elder brother

1 Ante, p. 265.

Kirtivarman, who is represented as powerful enough to protect the whole earth, calls upon the gods Āditya and Agni and the assembled crowd of men to witness this act, as if to show his sincerity, and to disarm the jealousy that might arise in the mind of his brother and that of other persons, and claims for himself only the fruit resulting from serving his brother faithfully, —it appears to me pretty clear that he was not. Dedications for the benefit of departed souls were not made in such a manner, the usual formula being "for the increase of the religious merit of such and such a one," as will be seen even from the grant before us. Mangaliśa was probably his brother's general or lieutenant, and thus characterizes his act as a piece of obedient service. The twelfth year of the reign of some prince, therefore, in which the cave-temple was consecrated must have been the twelfth year of Kirtivarman's reign. If so, the latter, and not Mangaliśa, came to the throne in Śaka 488, or A. D. 566.

And now we are enabled to explain the dates given in Mr. Telang's plates,¹ which otherwise are altogether unintelligible. Ravikirti expressly states that Mangaliśa became king after the death of his brother, and that he conquered the Revatidvīpa. Mr. Telang's grant was made in 532 Śaka and the twentieth year of some reign, by the governor of four districts, who was stationed in Vijaya-Revatidvīpa, and acted under the orders of Prthivi-Vallabha Mahārāja. This date is so near to the time of the conqueror of Revatidvīpa that the island may very reasonably be regarded as being subject to the Cālukyas at the time. And that it was so, is proved by the Cālukya title, Prthivi-Vallabha-Mahārāja of the sovereign, to whom the grantor owed allegiance. Kirtivarman could not be this Cālukya prince, for the island was not conquered in his time. Neither could he be Pulakeśi, for Śaka 532 was not the twentieth year of his reign, but the first or the next before the first, if we adopt the interpretation alluded to in a previous foot-note. He must then have been Mangaliśa. But Śaka 532 could not have been the twentieth year of his reign, if, according to the received way of understanding the date in the Badami Inscription, his accession took place in 488 Śaka. While if we take this to be the initial date of Kirtivarman's reign, all

¹ JBBRAS, Vol X, pp. 355-6

that it is necessary for us to understand to render the whole consistent is that Kirtivarman died in 512 Śaka, or 590 A. D., after a reign of 24 years, and his brother succeeded him. Pulakeśi was crowned in 532 Śaka (610 A. D.), or in 533 Śaka (611 A. D.), wherefore Mangalīśa reigned for just twenty years, and Mr. Telang's grant was made in the last year of his reign. In this manner, when Hwan Thsang saw Pulakeśi in 639 A. D., 49 years must have elapsed since his father's death, and not 73, as according to the other view of Mangalīśa's date it is necessary to suppose. And if his age at the time was five years, he was 54 years old when the Chinese pilgrim saw him, and not 78, and may thus have appeared to him to be a man of vigour

The other dates do not present such inconsistencies, and may be accepted as true. We thus arrive at the following chronology :—

Kirtivarman 566 A. D. to 590 A. D. (Śaka 488-512), reigned for 24 years (according to Badami Inscription, Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 305, and Mr. Telang's grant, JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 365).

Mangalīśa, 590 A. D. to 610 A. D. (Śaka 512-532), reigned for 20 years (Mr. Telang's grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 72).

Pulakeśi II, began to reign in 610 A. D. (Śaka 532—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 72); was on the throne in 634 A. D. (Śaka 556—Ravikīrti's Inscription, Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 70); was seen by Hwan Thsang in 638-9 A. D.

Vikramāditya died in 679 A. D. (Śaka 601—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86)

Vinayāditya began to reign in 679 A. D. (601 Śaka—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86); was reigning in 691 A. D. (Śaka 613—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 89), and in 694 A. D. (Śaka 616—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 92); died in 695 A. D. (Śaka 617—JBBRAS, Vol. III, p. 203), after a reign of 16 years.

Vijayāditya began to reign in 695 A. D. (Śaka 617), and was reigning in 705 A. D. (Śaka 627—JBBRAS, Vol.

III, p. 203); died in 733 A. D. (Śāka 655—Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107) after a reign of 38 years.

Vikramāditya II began to reign in 733 A. D. (Śāka 655), and was on the throne in 734 (Śāka 656—Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107).

TRANSCRIPT.

- १ ॐ स्वस्ति जवत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वराह क्षोभितार्णवं । दक्षिणोन्नत-
- २ वंद्याप्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमा-
- ३ नव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमातृभि-
- ४ रभिवर्धितानां कासिकेयपारिरक्षणावाप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां
- ५ भगवन्पारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलान्छनेक्षण-
- ६ क्षणवर्षाकृताशेषमहेश्वरानां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणो-
- ७ श्वभेधावभूयस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीकीर्तिवर्म-
- ८ राजस्यात्मजोनेकनरपतिशतमकुटतटकोटिघृष्टचरणारवि-
- ९ न्दो मेरुमलयमन्दरसमानधैर्योहरहरभिवर्धमानवरकरि-
- १० धतुरगपदातिबलो मनोजैककटचित्राख्यः प्रवरतुरंग-
- ११ मेणोपाजितस्वराज्यविजितचेरचोलपण्ड्यकमागतराज्यत्र-
- १२ यः श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्ष
- १३ पराजघोषलब्धापरनामधेय श्रीनागवर्धनपादानुब्धा-
- १४ ध्यातपरममाहेश्वर श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभः तस्यानुजो भ्राता विजिता
- १५ रिसकलपक्षो धराश्रयः श्रीजयसिद्धवर्मराजस्तस्य सूनुस्तुभुवना-
- १६ श्रयश्रीनागवर्धनराजः सर्वानेवागामिवर्त्तमानभविष्याश्च नरप-
- १७ तीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितां यथास्माभिर्गोपराष्ट्रविषयां-
- १८ पातिबलेग्राम सोद्वह्नः सपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेद्य आचंद्रार्काव
- १९ क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन मातापित्रो रुद्रिद्यात्मनश्च विपुलपुण्ययशोभि
- २० घृष्ट्यर्थं बलाम्मठकुरविज्ज्ञप्तिकया कापालेश्वरस्य गुग्गुलुपूजानिमित्त-
- २१ तनिवासिमहाव्रतिस्य उपभोग्य सलिलपूर्वकं प्रतिपादितस्तदस्म-
- २२ रन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभिः शरदभ्रचंचलं जीवितमाकलय्यायमस्मद्भूयोनु-
- मंतव्य
- २३ प्रतिपालभितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं भगवता व्यासेन बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- २४ भिस्तग्रादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
- २५ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टि वरिषसहस्राणि विष्ठायां
- जायते कृमिः ॥

TRANSLATION

Welfare

Victorious is Visnu, manifested in the form of a boar, who agitated the ocean, and on the tip of whose uplifted tusk rested the earth. The son of the prosperous king Kirtivarman,—the stay of truth, whose body was purified by the closing ablutions of the Āśvamedha sacrifice, and who was the ornament of the race of the Cālukyas, who are prosperous, belong to the gotra of Manu, which is praised by the whole world, are the sons of Hārīti, are bred up by the seven goddesses of the world, resembling seven mothers, have obtained a succession of blessing through the protection of Kārttikeya, to whom all kings become subject immediately they see the Boar standard, obtained by the favour of the divine Nārāyana,—was the great devotee of Maheśvara, the prosperous Pula-keśivallabha, whose lotus-like feet were subject to the friction of the borders of the crowns of many hundred kings, whose firmness was as great as that of the Meru, the Malaya, and the Mandara ; whose forces consisting of excellent elephants, chariots, horses, and foot-soldiers were daily increasing ; who won back his own dominions and conquered the three old kingdoms of Cera, Cola, and Pāndya, by [seated on the back of] the one excellent horse named Kantha-Citra, whose speed was as great as that of the mind ; who obtained a new title by defeating Śrī-Harsa, the lord of the Northern country ; and who meditated on the feet of Nāgavar-dhana. His younger brother was the prosperous king Jayasimha-varman, who conquered all the allies of his enemies, and was the support of the world. His son, the prosperous king Nāgavar-dhana, the stay of the three worlds, informs all coming, present, and future kings :—“ Be it known to you that we have, by pouring water, granted, at the request of Bālamma Thakkura, for the worship of Kāpāleśvara by offerings of Guggula, and for the benefit of the great ascetics residing there (in the temple), with a view to the increase of the religious merit and fame of our mother, father, and of ourselves, [the village of] Balegrāma, situated in the district of Goparāstra, with the things growing on it, and with appurtenances, not to be entered on (interfered with) by officers and soldiers, and [the gift] to last as long as the

moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth endure. Therefore, future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that life is as transient as the autumnal clouds, should respect this our gift, and continue it. The revered Vyāsa has said, "Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit is reaped only by him who owns it, and at the time when he owns it. He who takes away the land given by himself or others lives as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

THE RĀSTRAKŪṬA KARHAD PLATES OF KṚṢṆA III. OF ŚAKA SAMVAT 880.

[From the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IV, 1896-97, pages 278-290.]

These copper-plates were found at Karhad in the Satara District while the foundations of an old and dilapidated house were being dug out, and were put into my hands by Mr. Hari Narayan Apte, the present manager of the Ānandāśrama in Poona. They are three in number, and each is 13¹/₄ inches long and 9 inches broad. The first and the third plates are engraved on one side, and the second on both. The letters are well-formed and legible throughout, except in one place where an original mistake has been corrected by something else being engraved in its place (line 21).

The inscription on the plates records the grant of the village of Kankem (ll. 62 and 65), situated in the district of Karahāta and belonging to the Kalli group of twelve (l. 61 f.), by Kṛṣṇarāja (v. 24), who was also called Akālavarsa and Vallabha (l. 55), and who was Kṛṣṇa III of the Rastrakūta family. The grantee was Gaganasīva (ll. 61 and 65), was versed in all the Śiva-siddhāntas. He was the pupil of Īśānasīva of Karahāta (l. 59 f.), —the modern Karhad ;—and the grant was made for the maintenance of the ascetics that lived at the place (l. 61).

The date of the grant was Wednesday, the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the cyclic year Kālayukta, the Śaka year being 880 past (l. 56 f.). Professor Kielhorn has favoured the Editor with the following remarks on this date :—
“ Śaka-Samvat 880 expired by the Southern luni-solar system was Kālayukta, and the equivalent of the date is Wednesday, 9th March A. D. 959, when the 13th tithi of the dark half of the Amānta Phālguna commenced 2 h 33 m. after mean sunrise. The reason why the tithi has been joined here with the day on which it commenced, very probably is this, that the Naksatra on that day, (viz. on the Wednesday) was Śatabhisaj ; for, the conjunc-

tion of the 13th tithi of the dark half of the pūrnimānta Caitra or anānta Phālguna with the nakṣatra Śatabhisaj—a conjunction at which the Tithi is called Vārūnī—is very auspicious,¹ so that donations etc., made on such an occasion, are as meritorious as those made at an ec'ipse etc.”

The account of the different princes of the family is given word for word in the same verses as those occurring in the plates found at Deoli near Wardha which have been published by me in Vol. XVIII of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society²; and consequently the present grant, issued, as it was, eighteen years after the other, confirms the important statements contained in the latter, which have enabled us to clear all the existing difficulties in the genealogy and history of the family. There is, however, some additional information given in this grant. In the introduction, instead of the words Sātyaki-vargabhājah, we have in the Karhad plates (v. 6) tunga-yāśah-prabhāvah. Still the reading of the Deoli plates is not a mistake, and the family was regarded as belonging to the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race, as we have a statement to that effect in the Navasari grants, also edited by me³. But the varied reading of the present grant enables me to make out that the Rāstrakūṭas sprang from a family that was known by the name of Tunga. Hence it is that so many of the princes have their names ending in that word. Kṛṣṇa I was called Śubhatunga; Govinda III, Jagattunga; and Śarva or Amoghavarṣa, Nṛpatunga. Then in the description of Dantidurga we have one verse more than in the Deoli plates, in which his having wrested the supreme sovereignty for his own family from the Cālukyas is mentioned distinctly (v. 9). There is also an additional verse about Nṛpatunga or Amoghavarṣa, who therein is represented, as in the Navasari grants, to have “burnt” or destroyed the Cālukya race

1 “ A still more auspicious conjunction is that of the same tithi with a Saturday and Śatabhisaj, and an even more auspicious conjunction is that of the same tithi with Saturday, Śatabhisaj, and the Śubhayōga. In the former case the tithi is called Mahāvārūnī, and in the latter Mahāmahāvārūnī ”

2 Included in this Volume later. [N. D. U.]

3 This is also included in this Volume later. [N. B. U.]

(v. 14). In the account of Amoghavarṣa, the Baddiga of the Kharepstan grant, the father of Kṛṣṇa III, we have two additional verses (22 and 23) descriptive of his virtues.

The account in the Deoli plate ends with the coronation of Kṛṣṇa III ; and all that he is therein represented to have done, he did while he was a Kumāra, or crown-prince, and janakājñāvaśa, i. e. acting under his father's orders, or subordinate to him. In the present grant there is one verse more about him in this part, in which he is represented to have conquered Sahasrārjuna, who was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife (v. 25). Sahasrārjuna is the mythical hero to whom the Kalacuri rulers of Cedi traced their descent, and who, in the story in the Mahābhārata, is represented to have killed Jamadagni, the father of Paraśurāma, and in revenge to have had his thousand arms cut off by the latter. Very likely, the rulers of Cedi generally, or some of them at least particularly, were called by the name of Sahasrārjuna after their mythical ancestor, and the name Arjuna does occur in the list of the princes belonging to that family. The Sahasrārjuna, therefore, conquered by our Kṛṣṇa, must have been a ruler of Cedi or must have belonged to that family. And it is also likely that he was a relative of his mother and his wife. For Amoghavarṣa, the father of Kṛṣṇa, is in the Karda plates represented to have married Kandakadevī, the daughter of Yuvarāja, who must have been the same as the fourth prince in the list given by Professor Kielhorn ;¹ and it appears that Kṛṣṇa himself married a lady from the same family. Who the particular prince conquered by Kṛṣṇa III was, it is difficult to say. The name Arjuna or Sahasrārjuna does not occur in Professor Kielhorn's list. But many other names of the Kalacuri princes related to the Rāstrakūṭas also do not occur therein. The following is a list of those princes :—

1. Kokkala, whose daughter was married to Akālavarṣa and was the mother of Jagattunga
2. Ranavigraha, his son, whose daughter Lakṣmī was married to Jagattunga and who was his maternal uncle.

¹ Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 304.

3. Arjuna, the eldest son of Kokkala and therefore brother of the above.
4. Anganadeva, his son, whose daughter Vijāmbā was married to Indra-Nityavarsa.
5. Yuvarāja, whose daughter Kandakadevi was the wife, or one of the wives, of Amoghavarsa-Baddiga according to the Karda plates.
6. Sahasrārjuna or Arjuna, the prince mentioned in the present grant as having been conquered by Kṛṣṇa III.

Of these, the names Ranavighraha, Arjuna and Anganadeva do not occur in Professor Kielhorn's list. Perhaps they were collaterals and not ruling princes. But that there was a ruling prince of Cedi of the name of Ranavighraha, is shown by the following verse occurring in Jahana's Sūktimuktāvalī, attributed to Rājasekhara :

नदानी मेकलसुता नृपाणा रणविग्रहः । कर्षीना च सुगानन्दश्चेद्विमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

"Of rivers the Mekalasutā (i e. Narmadā), of kings Ranavighraha, and of poets Surānanda, are the ornaments of the country of Cedi." Jagattunga's maternal uncle and father-in-law is called Śamkaragana in the Karda plates; but that is probably a mistake. The name Śamkaragana does occur in Professor Kielhorn's list down below; but he was not the son of Kokkala and consequently could not be the father-in-law of Jagattunga. Where to place these three princes, therefore, in the Cedi list, must be left to future researches.

After the account of Kṛṣṇa's coronation, there are in the Karhad plates two verses more about the reigning monarch, in which we are told that he deposed some of his chiefs from their places and raised others to the dignity, separated some from each other and united others (v. 34); that, with the intention of conquering the South, he exterminated the Cola race and placed its country under his own dependents, and that, having made the Ceranma, the Pāndya and the Simhala his tributaries, he erected a triumphal column at Rāmesvara (v. 35). The statement about the conquest of the Colas and the annexation of their territory is confirmed by two Inscriptions found at Tirukkalukkunram in the

Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency and edited and translated by Mr Venkayya.¹ These Inscriptions are dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of Kannaradeva, and he is there spoken of as the conqueror of Kacchi (or Kāñcīpura) and Tañjai (identified with Tañjapūra or Tañjāvūr, i e. Tanjore). This last was the capital of the Cola princes. Another Inscription at Ve'lore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign,² and there are two more in South Arcot. Kannaradeva is evidently Kṛspadeva; since Kannara we do find as an ordinary way of pronouncing Kṛsna. Kṛsna of the Yādava dynasty is in several Inscriptions called Kanhara or Kanhāra. The very fact that so many Inscriptions in the country governed by the Colas and Pallavas are dated in Kṛsna's reign, shows that the country formed part of the territory ruled over by him. As stated by me in the paper on the Deoli plates, Būtuga or Būtayya, the same as the Bhūtārya of our grants, whom Kṛsna had raised to the throne of the Ganga kingdom, is represented in an Inscription at Atakur³ to have assisted Kannaradeva in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola prince. But the conquest of the Cola country was effected after Śaka-Samvat 862, the date of the Deoli grant, since it is not mentioned in it, and before Śaka-Samvat 880, the date of the Karhad grant. As the destruction of Rājāditya is alluded to in the Atakur Inscription as a recent event, it must have taken place a little before Śaka 872 current, the date of that Inscription. And the present grant affords direct evidence for Kṛsnarāja's occupation of the Cola country. For it was issued while he was encamped with his victorious army at Melpāti for establishing his followers in the Southern provinces, for taking possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs, and for constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gandamārtanda, Kṛsneśvara and others (ll. 57 to 59). The Melpāti where he was encamped for settling the Southern provinces, must be Melpadi in the Chittur Taluka of the District of North Arcot⁴. Whether there are now any temples at Melpadi or in the vicinity corresponding to those, to construct which was

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp 282-85.

2 Ep. Ind Vol IV, p 81.

3 Ep. Ind Vol. II, p 173.

4 Ep. Ind. Volume IV, p. 140, also Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I, p 155.

another of the objects of the Rāstrakūta prince, must be left to be determined by those who are intimately acquainted with the country. The conquest of the Pallava country, however, was effected before, since we have a mention of it in the Deoli plates.

The boundaries of the village granted are specified in line 63f. There is a village of the name of Kanki some miles to the south-east of Karhad, which is now included in the Junior Miraj State. That village is, I am told, bounded on the South by another of the name of Pandur, and on the West by a third called Adhi. The Kankem of the grant is therefore the modern Kanki, Pendurem, Pandur; and Adhem, Adhi. The river in the vicinity is, I am told, now called Agrani; but the Krsnavenā, which corresponds to the Prakrit form Kanhavannā of the grant, is not far. Perhaps Vannā, the latter part of the compound, was the old name of the Yerla, which flows through the district, and the river meant is the Krsnā after its confluence with the Yerla. There is also a village of the name of Kallī in the vicinity; and the twelve villages of which it was or is the chief, have now the following names :—

1. Kalli.	5. Adhi	9 Khatav
2. Kanki.	6. Salgar	10 Nignur
3. Ajura.	7. Bekonki	11 Pandregamv (Pandur ?).
4. Sijur.	8. Titur.	12 Tavsi

TRANSCRIPT¹

FIRST PLATE

- १ ओं^२ [॥*] स जयति जगदुत्सवप्रवेशप्रथनपर. करपल्लवो मुरारि. । लसद-
मृतपयःकर्णाकलक्ष्मीरतनक-
२ लक्ष्मानलब्धसनिवेशः^३ ॥ [१*] जयति [च] गिरिजाकपोलदिम्बादधिगतपत्र-
विचि [त्रित] भभित्तिः^४ । तृपुरविज-
३ यिनः त्रियोपरोधाद्धृतमद [न] भयदानशासनेव ॥ [२*] श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलै-
कतिलकल्लैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो
४ मन्मथवान्धवः^५ कुमुदिनीनाथः सुधादीधितिः । [नि] शेषामरतर्पणार्पिततनु-
प्रक्षीणतालंकृते-

1 From the original plates.

2 Expressed by a symbol

3 Read लब्ध.

4 Read विष्मा.

5 Read °नः.

6 Read त्रिपुर.

7 Read बान्धवः.

- ५ र्यस्यांशः शिर[सा] 'गुणप्रियतया नूनं धृतः सम्भुना ॥ [३*] तस्माद्विका-
सनपरः कु [मुदाव] लीनान्दोषा-
- ६ न्धकारदलनः 'धरिपूरिताषाः । ज्योत्स्नाप्रवाह इव दर्शितस्तुद्रपक्षः' प्रपस्तै
क्षितितले क्षितिपा-
- ७ लवशाः ॥ [४*] अभवदतुलका [न्ति] स्तत्र [मु] कामणीनां गण इव यदुर्वश
दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिग-
- ८ तहारिनीलप्रोक्तस [ज] । यकश्चरक्षिथिलगुण [सं] गो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ [५*]
उद्धृतदै [ल्य] कु-
- ९ लैकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रावतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति [तुं] गय-
शः[प्र]-
- १० भावास्तु [ग] । इति [क्षि] तिभुजः श्रुतिर्तावभूषुः ॥ [६*] क्षितितलतिल-
कस्तदन्वये च क्षतरिपुदन्तिषटो जनेष्ट' र-
- ११ दृः । [त] मनु च सुतराष्ट्रकूटनाम्न भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः
[७*] तस्मादरातिवनिताकुचचारुहार-
- १२ निहारभानुसदगादिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं चकार 'चतुरन्ध्रकण्ठसम क्षेत्रं
य एतदसिलांगलभि [ज] दुर्गः [॥ ८*]
- १३ सुस्त्रिधां घनपत्रसंचयकृत [च्छ] यां मनोहारिणीमूढोदारफलां समभ्रितजन-
श्रान्तिव्यपोहक्षमा'
- १४ बन्धालक्यकुलालपालवल [य] दुदृल्य' लक्ष्मीलतां सिक्तां दन्तिमदाम्भुभिः' स्थिर-
पदसक्तिं स्ववंशेकरोत् । [९*]
- १५ तस्म[१०] दपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृ[व्य*]ः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रः ।
यत्कारितेश्वरगु-
- १६ हैर्व्वसुमत्य [नेक] कैलासशैल [नि] चितेव चिर बिभा [ति] ॥ [१०*] गोविन्दराज
इति तस्य वभूव' [न] म्ना सू-

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE.

- १७ नुस्स [भो] गभ [र] भंगुरराज्याचिन्तः । अत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य [म] म्य-
[क्स] [न्न] ज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिली-

1 Read गुणप्रिय°.

2 Read परि°

3 Read शुद्ध.

4 Read प्रावर्तन.

5 कुल is corrected by the engraver from कुला.

6 Read प्रयिता वधुपु°.

7 दन्ति is corrected by the engraver from दान्ति.

8 Read चतुरन्ध्रपु°.

9 Read क्षमाय

10 Read 'लवाल.

11 Read 'दाम्भुभिः.

12 Read वभूव

- १८ चकार ॥ [११*] 'क्षे[त]तपतु[त्रि]तये[न्दु]वि [म्ब]लीले[द]याद्रेः^१ कलिषल-
भाख्यात् । ततः रुतारातिमदेभमंगो
- १९ जातो जग[त्तुं] गमृगाधिराजः ॥ [१२*] तत्सूनुनानतवृपो [वृ]पतुंगदेवः सो
भूत्स्वतैन्यभरभंगुरिताहिरा-
- २० जः । यो मान्यखेटममरे[न्द्रपु] रोपहासि गव्विर्णगव्वमिव खव्वयितुं व्यधत्त
॥ [१३*] चालुक्यवंश दहतौ य-
- २१ दीय[प्र]तापवह्नेरभिलब्धजन्मा^२ । ब्रह्मण्डभाण्डोदर — — — नाद्यापि विश्रा-
न्तिमुपैति [शब्दः]^३ ॥ [१४*]
- २२ त[स्यो] स[उज्जैत]गू[उज्जैरो] इतहटल टे. इट श्रीमदो गौडानां विनयमताप्यणगुरुः
सामुद्र[१]निद्राहरः ।
- २३ द्वारस्थांगकलिगंगांगमगधैरभ्यर्षिताज्ञाक्षिरं शूलस्सूततवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्ण-
राजोभ [वत्] ॥ [१५*]
- २४ अभू [उज]ग्वतुंग इति प्रसिद्धस्तदंगजः खानयनामृतांशुः । अलब्धराज्यः स
क्विं विनये दिव्या-^४
- २५ गनाप्रार्थनयेव^५ ध त्रा ॥ [१६*] तच्चन्दनः क्षितिमपालयदि[न्द्र]राजो य
द्रूपसंभवपराभवभीरुणे-
- २६ व । मानात्सुरैव मदनेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निजतनुः कृतये^६ स्म
भस्म ॥ [१७*] तस्माद[मोघ]वर्षा
- २७ रै[द्र]धनुर्भ[ग]जनितवलमहिमा^७ । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्हृशस्था-
[उज]तः ॥ [१८*]
- २८ क्षिप्रं दिवं पितुरिव प्रणया[द्र]सस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललमभूतः ।
राज्यं दधे मद[न]-
- २९ सौख्यपिलास[कन्दो]^८ गोविन्द[रा]ज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ [१९*]
[सो]प्यंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्धु-^९
- ३० दिरु[न्म] [गर्गसंग]विमुखोक्ततसर्वसत्त्व[ः] । [दोष] (१)प्रकोपद्विषमप्रकृतिः^{१०} श्लथांगः
प्रापत्क्षयं

1 Read °पद्म; वितये° is corrected by the engraver from वितनये°

2 Read विभव.

3 Read खर्वयितुं

4 Read दहतौ.

5 Read °लब्ध

6 Read ब्रह्माण्ड.

7 Read शब्दः.

8 Read °जगत्पुङ्गव

9 Read अलब्ध.

10 Read दिव्याङ्गना.

11 The n of °नयेव is entered below the line.

12 Read क्लृप्ते.

13 Read बल.

14 Read विलास.

15 Read पु.

16 Read विप.

- ३१ सहजजेजसि जातजाऽये ॥ [१०*] साम [न्तै]रथ रहरा[ज्य]महिम.लम्बायम-
भ्यर्थितो^१ देवेनापि पि-
३२ नाकिना हरिकुलोत्था[सै] बितो^२ प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जग-
तुंग.त्सजोमो-
३३ घवाक्पेयूषाब्धिरमोचवर्षचपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ [२१*] धम्मं मनुस्समर
कम्मणि कार्त्त[ी] यो]-

SECOND PLATE ; SECOND SIDE.

- ३४ यो वर्थे बैलिज्जन्तम[नो]हरणे दिलोपः [१*] उच्चै[ब्धिरन्त]नयशांसि हर
जपीत्वं वृद्धेषु नम-
३५ च[रि]तो विनयेन [यो]भूत् । [२२*] किमिव सुकृत[त]राशेर्भ[र्ष]ते^३ त
चित्रं युधि रिपुभिर्ग[र्ष]वैर्वीक्षितो
३६ भज्यमानैः । वियति निकटवर्त्ती यस्य जातः सहायः प्रणतहरिविरिहा
भ्यर्चिर्वत[ख]न्द्रमै[लि]ः^४ ॥ [२३*]
३७ श्रीकृष्णराजचपतिस्तस्मात्परमेष्वादाजनि [स्]नुः । य शक्तिधरः स्वामी
कुमा[र]भवेव्यभू [ऋ]-^५
३८ बने ॥ [२४*] [र]महत[स]हस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाक[लि]तसमदरामेण (रामेण)
। [जननीपत्नी]गुरुरपि
३९ येन सह[स्त्र]जुनो [विजि]तः ॥ [२५*] श्रीहराज्यपुरवररक्षापरिखां मदेन
यस्या ज्ञां । विपुलां विलंघ-
४० यन्तः स्वयमपत[न्] द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ [२६*] येन मधुकैटभाविप पुन
रुन्मग्नो जनोपमदीय ।
४१ श्रीवल्लभेन [नि]हतौ भुवि द[न्ति]गवपुगौ दु[ष्टौ] ॥ [२७*] र[क्ष]म
लवि[ष]द्रुममुद[स्य] निहितेन योऽक-
४२ त सनाथा । भूतार्थपु[ण्य]तरुणा बाटीमिव गंगपाटीख ॥ [२८*] परि
मलितार्णवपल्लवविपासि-
४३ रासीज विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति [य] त्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वेषिणांगौघे
[२९*] यस्य पक्षेक्षिताखिल-
४४ दक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्जरहृदयत्कालं जरचित्रकूटाशा
[३०*] अनमजा पूर्वार्प-

1 Read °लम्बाय°.

2 Read °सैविगा.

3 Read °षाब्ध°.

4 Read °बलि°.

5 Read °गान्ति°.

6 Read °मोलि°.

7 Read °भावेव्यभू°.

४५ रजलानिधिहिमसैलसिंहलब्धपात् । [यं] जनकाज्ञा [वश]मपि मण्डलिनश्चण्ड-
दण्डमयात् ॥ [३१*] क्षिप्र[श्य] -

४६ मरुचा 'प्रलम्बभुजया पीनायतोरस्कया मूर्त्या कीर्तिलताहितामृतजलैर्वृक्षैश्च
सत्कोद्भवैः ।

४७ ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसहं विद्वम्भराभ्युद्धृतौ शा[न्ते धा][भि] लयं
गतः प्रशमिनामाद्यः कु-

४८ तार्थः पिता । [३२*] [वृ]क्षे वृक्षसुरांगने सरभसं दिव्यर्षिदत्ताधिपि^१
श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्त[तो] वितह-

४९ [रे] रा[ज्य] । अभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्मा[वद्धकरप्रहोद्य]मभवत्कम्पानुरागोदयाक्षिकन्याः
स्वसमर्पणा-

THIRD PLATE.

५० धमभवल्ल[ग्न]ानुकूलप्रियाः ॥ [३३*] लुप्ताः केपि निजास्पदाद्गुणभृतः केचि-
त्प्रतिष्ठापिताः केच्य[न्यो]न्मविभेदतो

५१ [वि]रलिताः केचित्सु सं[श्ल]षिताः । येनात्यूर्जितसद्गतनृपतिर्नौ वर्णा
द्वयोच्चावचा नीता [म]ण्डलिनो दशा समद्वतास्स-

५२ द्वि पद[स्य] छत्ता ॥ [३४*]-कुत्सा दक्षिणदिग्जयोद्यतधिया चैलान्वयो-
न्मूलन तद्वृत्ति निजभृत्यभर्गपरितश्चेरन्मरा-

५३ ण्यः।दिकान् । येनो [चै] स्सह सिंहलेन करदान्सन्मण्डलाधीश्वरा [न्य] स्तः
कीर्तिलतांकुरप्रतिकृतिस्तम्भश्च [रेमेश्वरे]^२ [३५ *] [स च]

५४ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादा [नृ] ध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधि-

५५ राजपर [मे] श्व [र] श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवः पृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमद्वल्लभनरेन्ददेवः कुशली
सम्भवेनैव यथासम्बध्य^३

५६ मानकात्राष्टपतिविषय [प] तिम्रामकूटमहत्तरयुक्तकोपयुक्तान्समादिशत्यस्तु च संवि-
दितं यथा शक [नृ] पका-

५७ ल[१ *] तीत [सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टत्वं [ज्ञा] त्याधिकेषु कालयुक्तसंवत्सरान्तर्गतफ[१]
ल्युनबहुलत्र [यो] दस्या^४ बुध दक्षिणदि-

५८ [क्म] ण्डलानि भृत्ये [न्यो] जीवनं कर्तुं मण्डलेश्वरसर्वस्वानि प्रतिग्रहीतुं^५ काल-
प्रियगण्डमातिण्डकृष्णेश्वरा-

1 Read प्रलम्ब.

2 Read °ज्ञादि.

3 Read यस्यावद्ध.

4 Read शब्द.

5 Read वर्ग.

6 Read रामेश्वरे.

7 Read त्वच्य°.

8 Read बहुलत्रयोदश्यां बुधे.

9 The anusvāra of कर्तुं runs into the हृ which stands over it ; read मण्डलेश्वर.

10 °प्रहीतुं is corrected by the engraver from °पृहीतुं.

- ५९ शायतवानि निष्पादयितं मेल्पाटीसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयकटकेन मया कर-
हाटीयवल्कले-
- ६० [श्व] रस्थानपतिकरंजखेटसंततिविनिर्गतिशानशिवःचार्यशिष्याय^१ महातपस्विने सक-
काल-
- ६१ [व] सिद्धान्तपारगाय गगनशिवाय (१) कार्त्तिक्या [सं] कल्पित [स] कलतपो-
धना (या) सनाच्छदनानिमित्तं कर-
- ६२ ^२हाष्टविषयप्रतिबद्धकल्लिद्धदशकान्तगर्गतः कंकेंनामा ग्रामः सत्पुत्रमालाकुलः
सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः
- ६३ सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सर्वोत्पत्तिसहित आत्तन्द्र कर्जमस्यो मया दत्तः ।
यस्य पूर्वतः कन्हवजा
- ६४ [नदी] [१*] दाक्षिणतः [पेंदु] रें । पश्चिमतः आढेंनामा ग्रामः । उत्तरतः
सैव कन्हवजा नदी [१*] एवं चतुराषाढवि-
- ६५ शुद्धं ^३कंकेंसंज्ञकं प्र.मं गगनशिवस्य कृषतः कर्षयतो भुंजतो भै.जयतो
वा न केनचिद्व्याघातः का-
- ६६ र्यः । यश्च करोति पञ्चभिरपि महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तश्च ॥
षष्ठिवर्षस [ह] ख [१*] णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति
- ६७ भूमि [दः] । आच्छेत्ता चा [तु] [म] न्त [१] च तान्ये [व] नर [कें] वसेत् ॥
[३६*] सा [म] न्योयं धर्म [सेतु] नृपाणां काले काले [प] तल [नी]-
- ६८ यो [भ] वद्विः । मर्त्येन [व] भाविभः^४ पार्थिवे [न्द्र] म्भूयो^५ भूयो याचते राम-
भद्रः ॥ [३७*] यो [स्यमेन] लिखितमिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Om (Ver. 1.) Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of (Visnu) the enemy of Mura, which being placed on the jar-like breast and the face of Laksmi, that are marked by shining particles of nectar-water, the proclaimed entrance of the world on a joyous festival.

(V. 2.) And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of (Śiva) the conqueror of the three cities (or of Tripura), which is adorned by the coloured figures impressed on it by (the close contact of) the cheeks of (Pārvatī) the daughter of the Mountain, and which thus bears, as it were, through regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of love.

1 Read शिष्याय.

2 Read चन्द्र.

3 Read कंकें.

4 Read भाविनः.

5 Read भूयो.

(V. 3.) There is (the Moon), the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of love, the lord of the night-lotuses, whose rays are full of nectar, whose thinness, produced by his having given up his body for gratification of all the gods, is his ornament, and a portion of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu (Śiva)— verily on account of his love for excellent qualities.

(V. 4.) From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes,— like a stream of moonlight,— which extended the series of the joys of the world, as the other unfolds the series of night-lotuses; which destroyed the darkness of sin, as the other destroys the darkness of night; which fulfilled all desires, as the other fills all quarters; and which had unblemished adherents as the other constitutes the bright half of a month¹

(V. 5.) In that (race), which resembled the ocean of milk, arose the family of Yadu,—like a necklace of pearls, which, like it, had a matchless splendour; the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in the other is borne by a sapphire when it is put in; which possessed indelible virtues, as the other is firmly strung on a thread;² and which was the ornament of the earth.

(V. 6.) In that (family) the eternal being (Kṛṣṇa) became incarnate in order to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown turbulent; and princes of that family, whose fame and valour were pre-eminent, became known in the world as Tungas.

(V. 7.) In that race was born Ratta, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who destroyed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies; and after him the Rāstrakūṭa family became known in the world by the name of (his) son Rāstrakūṭa.

(Vv 8 and 9.) From that (family) arose in this (world) Dantidurga, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who,

1 The epithets here are used in two meanings, one of which is applicable to the race of the Moon, and the other to the moonlight.

2 The epithets Adhigata-harṇilaprollasan-nāyaka-śrīh and Aśīthila-guṇa-saṅgha have two meanings, one applicable to the family of Yadu, and the other to the necklace of pearls.

having broken the uneven ground (or the strongholds) by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this (earth) a single field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries; who plucked out, from the surrounding water-basin in the shape of the Cālukya family, the creeper in the shape of supreme sovereignty, which has a glossy appearance, is shady on account of its thick foliage and charming, bears abundant fruit, and is able to remove the fatigue of men resorting to it, and planted it firmly in his own family by feeding it with the rut-water of his elephants.

(V. 10.) After him, (his) paternal uncle, the prosperous king Kṛsnarāja, protected this earth,— he who constructed temples of Īṣvara (Śiva), white as clouds in autumn, by which the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains.

(V. 11.) He had a son of the name of Govindarāja. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.

(V. 12.) From him who was (also) called Kalivallabha, and who was an artificial hill on which rose the moon in the shape of the triad¹ of white parasols, was born Jagattunga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies.

(Vv. 13 and 14) His son, to whom kings bowed, and who oppressed the king of serpents by the mass of his army, was that Nṛpatungadeva who founded Mānyakheta, which derided the city of the Indra of the gods, in order to humble, as it were, the pride of the gods; and the sound arising from the fire of whose prowess, when it burnt the Cālukya race, [filling] the interior of the vessel in the shape of the universe, has not yet ceased

(V 15.) His son, the prosperous Kṛsnarāja, became for a long time the lord of the earth,— he who spoke pleasant words, who terrified the Gūṛjara, who destroyed the egregious pride, generated by prosperity, of the arrogant Lāta, who was the preceptor charging the Gaudas with the vow of humility, who deprived the people on the sea-coast (Sāmudra) of their sleep,

1 Compare Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 17, note 5. [This Note is by the Editor of the Ep. Ind. —N. B. U]

and whose command was honoured (i. e. obeyed) by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga and the Magadha, waiting at his gate.

(V. 16.) He had a son known as Jagattunga, a moon to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the Creator without obtaining the kingdom, as if at the request of the heavenly nymphs.

(V. 17.) Indrarāja, his son, protected the earth. It was from fear, as it were, of the indignity likely to be caused (in future) by his beauty, that the god of love, even before, had his body reduced to ashes through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of (Śiva), the wielder of the Pināka.

(V. 18.) From him was born Amoghavarṣa,— as Rāma was from Dāśaratha,— the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow,¹ as that of the other by the breaking of the bow of Rudra,² and who (like the other) was a great store-house of beauty.

(V. 19.) He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of Govindarāja, ruled the kingdom.

(V. 20.) He, too, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent as the subjects were discontented on account of the aggravation of the vices,³ and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction.

(V. 21.) Then king Amoghavarṣa, the son of Jagattunga, the first among the wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words

1 This may refer to a war with the Cera king, whose crest was a bow; compare South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 92, note 5, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 332. [Note by the Editor of the Epi. Ind. —N. B. U.]

2 Raudra-dhanur-bhaṅga has two meanings.

3 The epithet Dosaprakopa etc. has two meanings, one physical and the other political. So also Tejas in Sahaja-tejasī has to be taken in two meanings

was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas, and also prompted by the god (Śiva), the wielder of the Pināka, who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Kṛṣṇa), ascended the glorious throne of heroes.

(V. 22.) In righteousness he was a Manu, in battle a Kārtavīrya, in valour a Bali, in attracting the hearts of men a Dillipa; though he thus acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty.

(V. 23.) How possibly can the store of his merits be extolled when— O wonder ! the moon-crested (Śiva), bowed down to and worshipped by Hari (Visnu) and Viriñca (Brahmā), was, in battle, seen by all his flying enemies to be near him in the sky, and to assist him ?

(V. 24) From that sovereign lord, as from Parameśvara (Śiva), was born a son, the prosperous king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, though a prince (i e., not a crowned king), exercised power in the world and was the lord, as the other was Kumāra, Śaktidhara and Svāmin.¹

(V. 25.) He conquered Sahasrārjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife,— (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i e. Paraśurāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (viz. Kṛṣṇarāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (rāmā) with his two hands.²

(V. 26.) His enemies, madly transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the prosperous Rattas, fell down themselves.

(V. 27.) He, Śrīvallabha, killed the wicked Dantiga and Vappuga, who seemed to be (the two demons) Madhu and Kaitabha, risen again on earth to torment men.

1 These are three of the names of the god Kārttikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

2 Bhujadvayākalita etc.. is to be interpreted in two ways.

(V. 28.) He planted in Gangapāṭi, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree Rachyāmalla.

(V. 29.) While his prowess, which destroyed numbers of Gāngas, his enemies, as the heat dries up the stream of the Gangā, was glowing, it is no matter for wonder that the Pallava (king) Anniga was beaten and reduced to a sad condition, as it is no wonder that fragrant leaves are withered (by heat).¹

(V. 30.) On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the Southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālāñjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gūrjara.

(V. 31) (All) the feudatories from the Eastern to the Western ocean and from the Himālaya to the island of Simhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient (i. e. subordinate) to his father.

(V. 32.) By his body which had a dark, glossy colour, long arms, and a broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Visnu), able to deliver the earth (or to uplift the submerged earth),— his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode

(V. 33.) When the festival of the coronation of this beloved of Prosperity, who had greatly propitiated Hari (Visnu), at which celestial nymphs danced and heavenly Rsis pronounced benedictions, had taken place amidst joy, the quarters which began to tremble and to be submissive on account of his preparation to exact tribute, as girls would have manifested tremor and affection at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as the others would have been dear to him in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving away themselves.²

1 There is a play here on the words Pratāpa, Parimalita, Gāṅga and Pallava.

2 The second half of this verse has a double meaning.

(V. 34.) He, a powerful master of the science of politics, desirous of obtaining a lofty position, deprived some of his subordinate chiefs of their places and established others who were deserving, separated some from each other by producing disunion and united others, and thus arranged them in a high or low position; as a proficient master of the science of words, (i. e. grammar), desirous of making up a long form, drops some letters from their position and introduces others in their Guna form, separates some on account of their dissimilarity and unites others, and places them in order, above or below.

(V. 35.) Having, with the intention of subduing the Southern region, uprooted the race of the Colas, given their land to his own dependents, and made the lords of great countries, viz., the Ceranma,¹ the Pāndya and others, along with the Simhala, his tributaries, he erected a high column at Rāmesvara, which was the image (as it were) of the sprout of the creeper in the shape of his glory.

(Line 53) And he, the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara, the prosperous Akālavarsadeva Prthvivallabha, the prosperous Vallabhanarendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara, the prosperous Amoghavarsadeva,— being well, commands all the governors of districts and heads of sub-divisions, chiefs of villages, leading persons, officers and employees, so far as they may be concerned with these presents :—

(L. 56.) “ Be it known to you that, while my glorious and victorious army is encamped at Melpāi for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the Southern region for my dependents, of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces, and of erecting temples of Kālapriya, Gandamārtanda, Krsneśvara, etc., eight hundred and eighty years of the era of the Śaka king having elapsed, on Wednesday, the thirteenth Tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the (cyclic) year Kālayukta,— I have granted the village named Kankem, one of

¹ This seems to be a Sanskritised form of the Tamil Śeramān, ‘ the Chera king. ’ [This note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind.—N. B. U.]

the Kalli group of twelve (villages), situated in the district (Visaya) of Karahāta, along with the rows of trees in it, the assessment in grain and gold, the flaws in measurement, the infictions of fate, and all the produce, to Gaganaśiva, a great ascetic, versed in all Śiva-sidhāntas, the pupil of the preceptor Īśanaśiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkalesvara in Karahāṭa and is an emigrant from the Karañjakhēta group (of villages),¹ for the purpose of providing seats and clothes to all ascetics, as promised on the Kārtiki (i. e. the full-moon Tithi of Kārttika),— (the grant) to be respected (i. e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure ”

(L. 63.) To the east of this (village) is the river Kanha-vannā; to the south, (the village of) [Pendū]rem; to the west, the village named Ādhem; to the north, that same river Kanha-vannā. No one should cause obstruction to Gaganaśiva while he cultivates the village named Kankem, defined by these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed. And he who causes (obstruction), will incur all the five great sins; for it is said :—

(V. 36.) “ He who grants land, dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) he who takes it away and he who abets the act, dwell as long in hell.”

(V. 37.) “ Rāmasbhadrā again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings ”

(L. 68.) Engraved by Yo[syagma].

1 Or perhaps— [‘ a descendant of the (spiritual) lineage of (the Maṭha at) Karañjakeṭa. ’ This note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind.—N. B. U.]

A TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE DEOLI PLATES OF THE RĀSTRAKŪTA KING KṚṢṆA III.

(A Paper on this and two other Inscriptions—one of these latter on Navasari copper-plates, marked A and B, and the other on a Kalacuri copper-plate grant from the Belgaum District, i. e., in all, on three Inscriptions, was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 30th July 1892. The three papers are here separately given)—N B U.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp. 239ff]

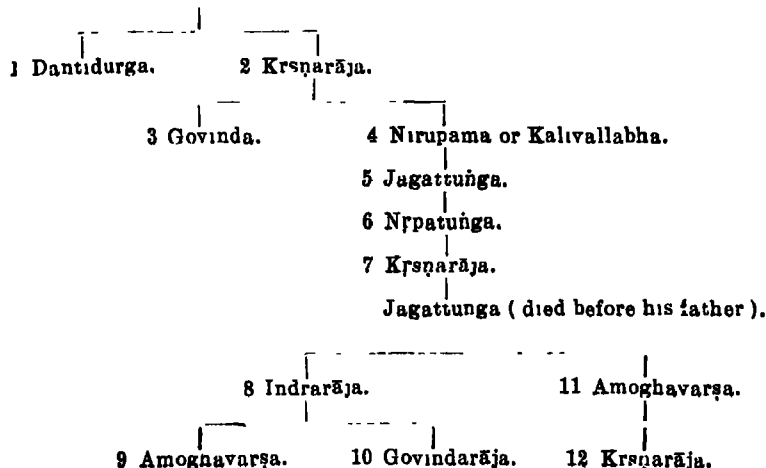
The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of the Inscription on which, I have placed before the Society to-day, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles South-west of Wardha near Nagpur. Excellent impressions of the tablets were prepared by Dr. MacDonald, Superintendent of the Central Jail, Nagpur, and forwarded to the Society for being deciphered, by Mr. T. Drysdale, Deputy Commissioner of Wardha. The Secretary sent the impressions to me. I read them and communicated the contents to the Secretary, requesting him at the same time to ask the Deputy Commissioner to send over the original plates to us, as the impression was indistinct in a few places. These were kindly forwarded to us by that officer.

The plates are three in number, each being a foot in length and eight inches in breadth. The Inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second, and on one side of the third. The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter, the work is negligently done. The seal bears a figure of Śiva.

The Inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village named Tālapurumsaka, situated in the district of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, to a Brahman named Rsiyappa or Rsiyapayya of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kanva, and Kṛta, and of the Bhāradvāja Gotra. The grant was made by Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarṣa of the

Rāstrakūta family in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga, while living at his capital Mānyakheta, in the year 862 expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940 A. D., on the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha, the cyclic year being Śārvari

The genealogy of Kṛṣṇarāja is thus given :—



This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Rāstrakūtas. In the first place, the Rāstrakūta family is said to have sprung from the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race. The genealogy begins with Dantidurga, as it was he, who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahārāstra or Deccan, the limits of which were the Narmadā on the North and the Tungabhadra in the South. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛṣṇarāja who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva which looked like the Kailāsa mountain. I have shown in my Early History of the Deccan that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Kṛṣṇarāja; and my view, that it was probably that known by the name of Kailāsa which he constructed, seems to be confirmed by the comparison with the Kailāsa contained in this grant.

The circumstances under which Dhruva-Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda are distinctly given. Sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of the kingdom, and entrusting the affairs of the state to his brother, he allowed the sovereign power to drop

away from his hands. Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III or Jagattunga.

His son, known as Amoghavarsa, the great patron of the Digambara Jainas, is called Nrpatunga, which name is found in a Jaina work also. The city of Mānyakheta, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him.

His son, Krsnarāja, who is also known by the name of Akālavarṣa, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him. He frightened the Gūrjara, destroyed the egregious pride of the Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Āndhra, the Kalinga, the Gāṇḍa, and the Magadha. As this Krsnarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the princes, this account may be relied on as true. Akālavarṣa is represented as a powerful prince in the Prasasti at the end of the Uttara Purāṇa of the Jainas also. The Lāta prince alluded to seems to have belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Rāstrakūṭa family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III or Jagattunga, who assigned the province of Lāta, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akālavarṣa, the grandson of Jagattunga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lāta country.

Jagattunga was the name of Akālavarṣa's son, and from the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants, he was supposed to have been a reigning prince; and following others, I have stated in the English edition of my Early History of the Deccan that he became king after his father. But from a number of circumstances, it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of my work, I have corrected the statement. This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us, in which he is represented to have been "taken away by the Creator to Heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels" who had heard of his beauty. Akālavarṣa was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra, the son of Jagattunga.

There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince named Amoghavarṣa, who was the son of Indra. He is not mentioned by name or as a king, in the Sangli grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Kharepatan grant; while in the third and only other grant, which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda altogether, and regard Amoghavarṣa as the only prince. But the grant before us clears the difficulty. Amoghavarṣa is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to Heaven as if through affection for his father." He reigned therefore for a very short time, perhaps for a few months or even days, and hence is not noticed in the Sangli grant.

The next prince, Govinda, is of course highly praised in his Sangli grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses. The Kharepatan grant agrees with it speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and as surrounded by women." Our grant agrees also with that found at Kharepatan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince.

His name was Amoghavarṣa, and he was the son of Jaṣattunga and consequently the uncle of Govinda. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāstrakūṭas. The Kharepatan grant gives his proper name which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the Government of the kingdom by his son Kṛṣṇa who was engaged in wars with his neighbours, and subjugated Dantiga, who probably was the ruler of Kāñci, and and Bappuka. He up-rooted Rachyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gāṅga country (Gāṅgavatī i. e., Gangevādī) a prince of the name of Bhūtārya. In an Inscription at Atakur noticed by Mr. Rice¹ and recently published by Dr Fleet,² one Būtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Rācamalla and to have made himself master of the Gāṅga country. Būtuga

1 Śrāvāṇa Belgola Inscriptions, p. 21.

2 Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II, Part XI, p. 173.

assisted Kannaradeva, i. e., Kṛṣṇa III, who is mentioned at the beginning of the Inscription, in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola king, and received a reward from him. Būtuga is elsewhere called Būtayya,¹ and our Bhūtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rāchyāmalla is clearly the Rācamalla of the Atakur Inscription. But in the latter, Kṛṣṇa's connection with the destruction of Rācamalla, and the rise of Būtayya, is not mentioned. The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner. But there can be no question that Būtayya was assisted by Kṛṣṇa and owed his elevation to him, since in the fight with Rājāditya, Būtayya acted as if he was his feudatory, and received a reward as from a master. The Pallava that Kṛṣṇa is mentioned to have subdued, was probably the same as Dantiga, and Bappuka was perhaps another name of Rājāditya the Cola.

On the death of Amoghavarṣa, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Kṛṣṇarāja ascended the throne. He was called Akalavarṣa also, as another prince of this dynasty bearing the name Kṛṣṇa was. Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty. Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Kṛṣṇa is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarṣa, and another Kṛṣṇa is brought in, who is identified with one of his younger sons, who never reigned, but is represented to have reigned and is called Kṛṣṇa IV. In my *Early History of the Deccan*, I have given the true sense of the passage and shewn the mistakes. The Kharepatan grant, which gives the true relationship, and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now this grant confirms the account in the Kharepatan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarṣa had no brother of the name of Kṛṣṇa who could have preceded or succeeded him; and that the King who preceded him, was his nephew Govinda IV, and the Kṛṣṇa, who succeeded him, was his son. There was no other Kṛṣṇa who followed this last and could be called Kṛṣṇa IV according to any of our authorities.²

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

2 My correction of the mistake about the two Kṛṣṇas was not noticed till very recently, though it was made more than eight years ago. For the

Jagattunga, the brother of Kṛṣṇarāja in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him; for the latter was succeeded by Kottiga, who appears to have been Kṛṣṇarāja's step-brother according to the Karda grant; and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama.

Jagattunga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers, do.

The name of the grantee ends in Appa or Apayya which shows that he was a Tailāṅga Brahman. He belonged to the Kāṇva school of the White Yajurveda, and even at the present day, there are the followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tālapurumsaka, which was granted, was bounded on the East by another of the name of Mādāvatātara, on the South by the river Kandanā, on the West by the village of Mohama or Mohama-grāma, and on the North by Badhrīra. Of these, Kandanā is the river Kanhana, which has a course from the North-west of Nagpur to the South-east; Mohama or Mohamagrāma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chindwada District. Badhrīra is Berdi in the vicinity of that town. Nothing corresponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

TRANSCRIPT

I.

स जयति ज(?)गुत्सवपवेशत्रयनपरः करगुहो मुरारेः । लसद्भुतपयः क-
णाकलक्ष्मीस्तनकलश.ननलब्धसंनिवेशः ॥ जयति च गिरिजाकपोलविशदधिगतप-
त्रिचित्रितासर्चितः । त्रिपुरविजयनः प्रियेपरेय.द्रुतमदनाभयदानश.सनेव ॥
श्रीम.नस्त नभसालेकलिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो मन्मथबाधवः कुमुदिनीनाथस्तु.
ध.दीधितिः । निःशेषामरतर्पणार्थितनुमक्षीणतालकृत्येयस्याशः शिरसा गुणमिद्यतया
नूनं धृतःसं(श)भुना । तस्माद्विक.सनपरः कुमुदावलीनां दोषाधकादलनः परिपूर्तिताशः । ज्यो-

Atakur Inscription noticed above, is, on the wrapper of Part X of the *Epigraphica Indica*, issued in August last, referred to "the time of Kṛṣṇa IV." I am, however, glad to see it has since attracted attention and the mistake has come to be tacitly acknowledged as such. For in Part XI of the same periodical issued in September last, i. e. only a month later, that same Inscription is published as "Atakur Inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa III."

स्नामवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥ अभवदतुल-
कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुर्वशो दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिगतहृदिनीलो-
लसन्नायकभीरुशिथिलगुणसंगो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ उद्धतदेत्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रा-
वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सात्यकिवर्गभाजस्तुंगा इति क्षितिभुजः प्रथिता
बभूवुः ॥ क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्षर्तारपुदन्तिघटोजनिष्ट रटः । तमनु च सुतराष्ट्रकूट-
नाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः ॥ तस्मादरातिवनिताकुचचारुहारनीहारभानुरुदगा-
दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं चकार चतुरभ्युपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं य एतदसिलांगलभिन्नदुर्गः ॥ तस्मा-
दपालार्थदिमां वसुधां पितृभ्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रेः । यत्कारितेभ्यश्चतुर्हृद्वत्सु-
मत्यनेककैलासशैलानिचितेव चिरं विभाति ॥ गोविन्दराज इति तस्य बभूव न, म्ना सनुस्स भो-

II. first side.

गभरभङ्गुररज्यचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य सन्यक्साध्याज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीच-
कार ॥ श्वे-
तातपत्रन्त्रितयेन्दुभिष्यलोलोदयद्रेः कलिवह्णभाख्यात् । तत्रः कृत्तारानिमदेभर्मणो जातो
जगत्सुग-

मृगाधिराजः ॥ तत्सुनुरानननृपो नृपतुंगदेवः सोमस्त्वसेन्यभर्मंगुरिताहिराजः । यो मान्यसे-
टममेन्द्रपुरोद्भासि गीर्वाणगर्व्वमिव सर्व्वयितुं व्यधत् ॥ तस्योत्तर्ज्जितगूजर्जरो हूतहृदृष्टो-
द्भटश्रीमदो गौडानां विनयप्रताप्यणगुस्स्तामुद्रनिद्राहरः । द्वारस्याधकलिंगांगमगधे-
रभ्यशिर्षिताङ्गाश्विरं सनुस्सुनृतवाम्भुवः परवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ अभूजगत्सुग इति प्रसि-
द्धस्तदंगजः क्षीनयनामृताशुः । अलब्धराज्यः स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्यांगनार्प्रार्थनयेव धात्रा । त-
न्मदनः क्षितिमपाल्यदन्द्रराजोयद्वृषसम्भवपराभवभीरुणैव । मानासुरै-
व मद्नेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निजतनुः कृ(कि)यते स्म भस्म ॥ तस्मादमोघवर्षो(र्षो)
रौद्रधनुर्भगजनिबलमहिमा । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिर्घर्द्धशरधाज्जातः ॥ क्षिप्रं दि-
वं पितुरिव प्रणयः दूतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । रज्यं दधे मदनसौख्य-
विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ सोप्यंगनानयनपाशानिरुद्धशुद्धिरुन्मा-
गंसेगविमुक्तीकृतसर्व्वसत्त्वः । दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृतिश्लथांगः प्रापःक्षयं सहजतेज-
सि जातजाड्ये ॥ सामन्तेरथ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्भार्थमभ्यर्थितो देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-
लोच्छासैषिणा प्रेरितः । अभ्यस्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जगत्सुग, त्मजोमोघवाक्प्रेयूषाब्धि-

II. second side.

रमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ श्रीकृष्णराजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि सनुः ।
यः शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेप्यभूद्भुवने ॥ श्रीरट्टराज्यपुरवररक्षार्परसं(त्ता) मदेन य-
स्य, ता । विपुलां विलम्बयन्तः स्वधमपतं(तन्) द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ येन मधुकैटभाविष पुनरुन्म-
सो जनोपमर्द्दापि । श्रीवह्णमेन निह्नौ भुवि दन्तिगवप्सुको दुष्टो ॥ रत्नपामलविषद्वममुद-

स्य निहितेन योक्त सनाथा । भूतार्यपुण्यतरुणा वाटीमिव गांगपाटीरे ॥ परिमलिवा(ता!)ण्डि-
गपल्लवविपत्तरासीन्न विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति यत्पतापे शोषितविद्वेषिगांगोषेव यस्य
परुषेक्षितासिलदक्षिणादिभुर्गविजयमाकण्ठ्यं । गलिता गूर्जरेद्दयात्कालंज-
रश्चित्रकूटाशा ॥ अनमन्नापूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलट्टिपात् । यं जन-
काक्कावशमपि मण्डलिनश्चण्डदण्डभथा(या)त(त) ॥ स्निग्धस्थामरुचा प्रलम्बभुजा(ज)वा

पीनायतोरस्कया

मूर्त्य (स्य) कीर्तिलनाहितामृतजलेवृत्तेश्च सत्त्वोद्भवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसङ्गं विस्वं
(म्ब)भरा-

भ्युद्धतो शान्ते धाम्नि लयं गतः) प्रशमिनामद्यः कृतार्थः पिता । वृत्ते नृत्तसुगंगने सरभसं
द्विष्यर्षिदत्ताशिषि श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्तभापितहरे रज्याभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्यावद्वकरग्रहोद्य-
मभवत्कृपानुरागोद्याद्विक्कन्याः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवल्लभानुक(क)न्यमियाः ॥ स च परम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादानुद्धया(ध्या)नपरमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथिवल्लभश्रीष(श)र्व-
प्रेय(प्रिय?)नेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वाके(ने)व स्वजानपदान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संबिदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-

III.

[क्षे] टगजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालान्तीतसंवत्सरशतेश्वष्टसु द्विषष्ट्यधिकेषु शार्वार्गसं-
वत्सरान्तर्गतवैशाखबहुलपण्च(अ)म्यां मम प्राणेश्चोपि प्रियतमस्य कनीयसो भ्रातुः श्रीम-
ब्जगत्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये ॥ अपि च ॥ ज्येष्ठे भ्रातार कुर्वता निरुपमां भक्तिं जितो
लक्ष्मणः सौन्दर्येण मनोभवः सुचरितैरामस्स धर्मात्मज (ः) । कान्त्या शीतरुचिश्च येन
सततं शौर्ये-

ण सिंहो जगत्तुंगस्यास्त्वभिवाञ्छितप्रदंमदं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥ अनेनाभिर्माधिन। मया नान्दि-
वर्द्धनविनिर्गतभागद्वाराजसगोत्रवाजिकाण्वकता(कात्य ?)सब्रह्मचारिभाइल्लसुतवेदेदेवाग-
पारगरिलि(षि)यप्पाय नागपुरनन्दिवर्द्धनान्तर्गततालपुरुषकनामा ग्रामः सोद्विगः स-
परिकरः सधान्यद्विगण्यदेयः सदण्डदोषदशापगधः सर्वोत्पत्तिसहितः

पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुःसीमपर्यन्तः । ब्रह्मदायन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कनमस्यो दत्तः । य-
स्य पूर्वतः मादावटटरनामा ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः कन्दना नदी । पश्चिमतः मोहमग्रामः । उ-
त्तरतः बधीरग्राम एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं तालपुरुषकं रिषियपत्त्यस्य रूपतः कर्षयतो
भुंजतो भोजयतो वा न केनचिद्व्याघातः कार्यः । यश्च व्याघातं करोति स पञ्च(अ)भिरपि

महा-

पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ अन्यच्च (!) ॥ स्वदत्तां पदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्टानां
कृमि-

मृत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृपाणां काले काले पाकनीयो भवद्भिः । स-

पानिर्व भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ चैवानरेरस्य भ्रात्रा योयाहृदे-
न लिखितमिति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of the enemy of Mura (Visnu) which, being placed on the jar-like breasts of Laksmī marked by particles of nectar-water, and on her face, proclaimed the entrance of the world on a joyous festival And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of the conqueror of the three cities or of Tripura (Śiva), which is adorned by the colored figures impressed on it by the [close contact of the] cheeks of the daughter of the Mountain (Pārvatī), and which thus bears as it were, through a regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of Love. There is the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of Love, the lord of the night-lotus plants, whose rays are full of nectar, whose diminished form, owing to his having given up his body for the gratification of the gods, is his ornament, and a part of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu—verily on account of his love for virtues From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes like a stream of moonlight, which extended the series of the joys of the world as that blows open the series of night-lotuses, which destroyed the darkness of sin as that destroys the darkness of night, which spread in all quarters (as that does), and which had unblemished adherents as that constituted the light half of a month ¹ From that race which was like an ocean of milk, arose the family of Yadu, like a necklace of pearls, which like it had a matchless splendour, the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in that is borne by a sapphire when it is put in, which had indelible virtues, as that is firmly interwoven with a string,² and which was the ornament of the world. In that family, the eternal Being became incarnate to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown tumultuous ; and members of

1 The epithets here are used in two senses, one of which is applicable to the family of the moon and the other to the moonlight.

2 The epithets अश्विनहस्तिनीलमोलसन्नायकश्री and अश्विचिलगुणसग have two senses, one applicable to the family of Yadu and the other to the necklace of pearls,

that family belonging to the Sātyakin clan became celebrated princes, because they were great. From that race sprang Rāṭa, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who killed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies ; after him the Rāstrakūṭa family became known in the world by the name of [his] son Rāstrakūṭa. From that [family] arose Dantidurgga, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who having broken the unevennesses by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this one field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries. After him, his paternal uncle, King Kṛṣṇarāja, protected this earth, by the temples of Īśvara (Śiva) constructed by whom, the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains. He had a son of the name of Govindarāja. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose. From him who was called Kalivallabha, and who was the sportive rising mount of the moon in the shape of the triad of the white umbrellas, was born Jagattunga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies. His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord Nṛpatunga who founded Mānyakheta which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order as it were to humble the pride of the gods. His son, the prosperous Kṛṣṇarāja, became for a long time the lord of the earth, who spoke pleasant words, frightened the Gūrjjara, destroyed the egregious pride generated by prosperity of the arrogant Lāta [king], was the preceptor who charged the Gaudas with the vow of humility, and deprived the people on the sea coast of their sleep, and whose command was honoured (obeyed) by the Āndhra, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga, and the Magadha waiting at his gate. He had a son, known as Jagattunga, who was a nectar-rayed [moon] to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the Creator without his having got the Kingdom, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels. Indrarāja his son protected the earth ; it was from a fear as it were of the indignity likely to be caused [in future] by his beauty that the god of Love, even before, reduced his body to

ashes through pride, by means of the fire of the wrath of the wielder of the Pināka (Śiva) From him was born Amoghavarsa, as Rāma was from Daśaratha, the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow of Rudra¹ and who (like him) was the great store-house of beauty. He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of Govindarāja, ruled the kingdom. And he, too, with his intelligence fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; and his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the [political] body becoming non-coherent, as the subjects were discontented through the aggravation of the vices,² and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction. Then the king Amoghavarsa, son of Jagattunga, the first among the thoughtful or wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas and also prompted by the god, the wielder of the Pināka (Śiva), who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Kṛṣṇa), ascended the throne of heroes. From that sovereign lord was born a son, the king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, though a boy, exercised power in the world and was the lord, and was verily Kumāra, Śaktidhara, and Svāmin³. His enemies transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the Rattas, themselves fell down. He, Śrī-Vallabha, killed on this earth the wicked Dantiga and Bappka, who were as it were Madhu and Kaitabha, again grown insolent for the torment of men. He planted as it were in a garden in the field of the Gāṅgas the holy tree of Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree of Rachyāmalla. While his

1 रोद्रशुर्भग has two senses.

2 The epithet दोषप्रकोप &c., has two senses, one physical and the other political. So also तेजस् in सहजतेजसि is to be taken in two senses, one fitting with the physical interpretation and the other with the political.

3 These are three of the names of the god Kārtikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

prohess, which was like heat and which destroyed numbers of Gāngas his enemies, as that (heat) dries up the stream of the Gangas, was glowing, what wonder is there if the Pallava Anthiga (Dantiga ?) who was beaten, was reduced to a sad condition as fragrant leaves are by heat¹ ? On hearing of the conquest of the strongholds in the South simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gūrjjara. All the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himālaya to the island of Simhala bowed to him from the fear of being severely punished, though he himself was obedient to his father. By his bodily form, which had a dark glossy colour, long arms, and broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds, which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Visnu) to deliver the earth (or bring out the submerged earth), his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode. When the festival consequent on the coronation of the beloved of Śrī (prosperity), who had greatly frightened Hari (husband of Śrī), in which celestial damsels danced, and the heavenly Rsis pronounced their benedictions, was over, the quarters as girls, which began to tremble at his preparation to exact tribute, as those should manifest love and tremor at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as those should be dear in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving themselves.²

He, the King Akālavarṣadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, a great devotee of Maheśvara, Prthvivallabha, the favourite of Śarva (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of the prosperous Amoghavarṣadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, being well, commands the men of his country : " Be it known to you, that for the enhancement of the holy fame of my younger brother, Jaṣattungadeva, who is dearer to me even than

1 There is a play here on the words " Gāṅga " and " Pallava "

2 Two senses here throughout.

my life, I have, living in the capital Mānyakheta, granted on the fifth of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year Śārvari, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, with the feeling that this grant of land may fulfil the wishes of Jagattunga, as if it were his, —Jagattunga, who has surpassed Lakṣmana, by serving his eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of Love by his beauty, and Rāma (and) the son of Dharma by his good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by his lustre, and the lion by his bravery—to Risiyappa, originally living in Nandivardhana, belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, student of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kanva, and Kata, the son of Bhāilla, and conversant with the Vedas and the subsidiary treatises, the village of Tālapurumsaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside and the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in the measurment (measuring rod), and mishaps (due to fortune),¹ with all its produce, up to its four previously known boundaries, and to be respected as long as the Sun and the Moon last, in the manner of a Brahman-gift. To the east of it is a village of the name of Mādāvatātara, to the south, the river Kandana, to the west the village Mohama [and] to the north the village of Badhrīra. No one should obstruct Risiyappa while he cultivates Tālapurumsaka, having these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed; and he who will obstruct will incur the five great sins. Moreover:—'He who takes away the land that has been given away by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure, and wallows there along with his ancestors. Rāmabhadra again and again entreats future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings.' Engraved by Yogrāstyā, the brother of Cevānanvera.

1 This, I think, is the proper translation of the phrase सत्पद्धद्वैषदशापगण or स दण्डदशापगण, which occurs almost in all grants, but the correct or appropriate sense of which, does not seem to have been yet found out. By inserting this expression, the grantor absolves himself from all responsibility about loss consequent upon a mistake in the measurement and upon changes due to adverse natural occurrences or the "doings of God" as they are called.

A REVISED TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION
OF THE RĀSTRAKŪṬA
DEOLI PLATES OF KR̥ṢṆA III OF ŚĀKA-SAMVAT 862.

[From the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, 1898-99, pp. 188ff.]

The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which are given below, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles south-west of Wardha near Nagpur. They were first published by me in Vol. XVIII of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.¹ The Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* having procured the original plates from the Secretary of the Society and having got a new facsimile prepared, I now publish a revised edition of my paper on those plates.

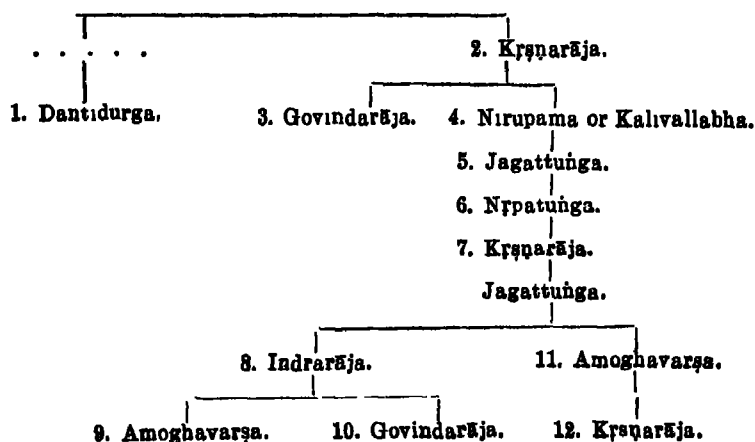
The plates are three in number, each being about one foot in length and about eight inches in breadth. The Inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second and on one side of the third. The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter the work is negligently done, and in consequence several letters look alike. The seal bears a figure of Śiva.²

1 This paper is printed here immediately before the present article. [N.B.U]

2 Dr. Gerson da Cunha was good enough to send me the plates and seal for examination. The seal is soldered on the two ends of a copper ring, which is $4\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The ring had been already cut when I received the plates. The seal is of square shape, like that of the Karda plates of Kakka II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 263). It measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ " both ways and bears, in relief, a seated figure of Śiva which faces the front and holds a snake in each hand. On Śiva's proper right are, from top to bottom, an image of Gaṇapati, a Cauri and a lamp; and on his proper left the goddess Pārvatī riding on a lion, and below her a Svastika. At the base of the figure is inscribed the legend Śrīmato Śrīthadasya, in which Arthada, 'the giver of wealth,' must be taken as a synonym of Akālavarṣa, which was a Biruda of Kṛṣṇa III. Along the margin of the seal passes a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a Liṅga and an elephant-goad are recognisable.—This note is by the Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*. [N. B. U.]

The inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village, named Tālapurumśaka (ll. 53 and 57) and situated in the district of Nagapura-Nandivardhan¹ to a Brahman named Risiappa or Risiyapayya (ll. 53 and 57), of the Vedic schools of Vājin and Kāṇva and of the Bhāradvāja Gōtra. The grant was made by Kṛṣṇa III, or Akālavarṣa of the Rāstrakūṭa family in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga (ll. 48 f. and 51), while staying at his capital Maṇyakheṭa (l. 46 f.), in the year 862, expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940-41 A. D., on the 5th Tithi of the dark half of Vaiśākha, the cyclic year being Śarvarin (l. 47 f.).

The genealogy of Kṛṣṇa III. is thus given.—



This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Rāstrakūṭas. In the first place, the Rāstrakūṭa family is said to have sprung from the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race and to be known by the name of Tunga (verse 6). The genealogy begins with Dantidurga (v. 8), as it was he who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahārāstra or the Deccan, the limits of which were the Narmadā in the North and the Tungabhadra in the South. He was succeeded by his

1 It deserves to be noted that the names of the village granted and of its boundaries and district, as well as those of the donee and of his father, Śākha, Gotra and native village, are engraved on erasures. Hence the names of the four boundaries of Tālapurumśaka are difficult to read and uncertain.—This Note is by the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica. [N. B. U.]

paternal uncle Kṛṣṇa I, who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva, which looked like the Kailāsa mountain (v. 9). I have shown in my Early History of the Deccan that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Kṛṣṇarāja, and have said that it was *perhaps* the Kailāsa itself. I should have said that it could be no other than the Kailāsa. For, if the demigods saw it while moving in the sky in their aerial cars, and were struck with its beauty, as stated in the Baroda Inscription, the temple must have had a carved exterior; i. e., it must have been a temple entirely cut out from the rock, and not a mere cave temple without an architectural exterior. There is one such only at Ellora, and that is the Kailāsa. The comparison, made in the present grant, of the temples constructed by Kṛṣṇarāja with Kailāsa, points, I believe, in the same direction.

The circumstances under which Dhruva Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda II are distinctly given. Sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting the affairs of the state to his younger brother, he allowed the sovereign power to drop away from his hands (v. 10). Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III or Jagattunga. His son, known as Amoghavarṣa, the great patron of the Digambara Jainas is here called Nṛpatunga (v. 12), which name is found in a Jaina work also. The city of Mānyakheta, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him.

His son, Kṛṣṇa II, who is also known by the name of Akālavarṣa, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him. He frightened the Gūrjara, destroyed the pride of Lāṭa, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga and the Magadha (v. 13). As this Kṛṣṇarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the other princes, this account may be relied on as true. Akālavarṣa is represented as a powerful prince in the Prāsasti at the end of the Uttara Purāṇa of the Jainas also. The Lāṭa prince alluded to seems to have belonged

to the Guirat branch of the Rāstrakūta family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III or Jagattunga, who assigned the province of Lāta, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akālavarṣa, the grandson of Jagattunga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lāta country.

Jagattunga was the name of Akālavarṣa's son. From the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants, he was supposed to have been a reigning prince; and following others, I stated in the first English edition of my *Early History of the Deccan* that he became king after his father. But from a number of circumstances it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of the work I corrected that statement. This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us, in which he is represented to have been taken away by the creator to heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels who had heard of his beauty (v. 14). Akālavarṣa was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra III, the son of Jagattunga.

There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince, named Amoghavarṣa, who was the son of Indra III. He is not mentioned by name or as a king in the Sangli grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Kharepatan grant; while in the th'rd and only other grant which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda IV altogether and regard Amoghavarṣa as the only prince. But the grant before us clears the difficulty. Amoghavarṣa is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father" (v. 17). He reigned therefore for a very short time (for a year, as stated in the Bhadana grant published after this), and hence is not noticed in the Sangli grant.

The next prince, Govinda IV, is of course highly praised in his Sangli grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses (v. 18). The Kharepatan grant agrees with it in speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love" and as "surrounded by women."

Our grant agrees also with that found at Kharepatan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince. His name was Amoghavarsa, and he was the son of Jagattunga, and consequently the uncle of Govinda IV. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāstrakūṭas (v. 19). The Kharepatan grant gives his proper name, which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the government of the kingdom by his son Kṛṣṇa III, who was engaged in wars with his neighbours and subjugated Dantiga and Vappuka (v. 22). He uprooted Rachyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gāṅga country (Gāṅgapāṭi, i. e. Gangavādi) a prince of the name of Bhūtārya (v. 23). In an Inscription at Atakur, noticed by Mr. Rice¹ and 'published by Dr Fleet,² one Būtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Rācamalla and to have made himself master of the Gāṅga country. Būtuga assisted Kannardeva, i. e., Kṛṣṇa III, who is mentioned at the beginning of the Inscription, in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola king, and received a reward from him. Būtuga is elsewhere called Būtayya,³ and our Bhūtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rachyāmalla is clearly the Rācamalla of the Atakur Inscription. But in the latter, Kṛṣṇa's connection with the destruction of Rācamalla and the rise of Būtayya are not mentioned. The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner. But there can be no question that Būtayya was assisted by Kṛṣṇa III, and owed his elevation to him, since, in the fight with Rājāditya, Būtayya acted as if his feudatory and received a reward as from a master. The name of the Pallava whom Kṛṣṇa III is stated to have subdued was Anniga (v. 24). Who the Dantiga and Vappuka were, that he put down, it is difficult to say ; but the former name was borne by some Pallava rulers of Kāñcī.

On the death of Amoghavarsa, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Kṛṣṇa III ascended the throne (v. 28). He was called Akālavarsa also, as

1 Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgola, p. 21.

2 Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 173.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

the other princes of this dynasty, bearing the name Kṛṣṇa, were Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty. Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Kṛṣṇa III is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarṣa, and another Kṛṣṇa is brought in, who is identified with one of his younger sons, who never reigned, but is represented to have reigned and is called Kṛṣṇa IV. In my Early History of the Deccan I have given the true sense of the passages and shewn the mistakes. The Kharepatan grant, which gives the true relationship and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now the present grant confirms the account in the Kharepatan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarṣa had no brother of the name of Kṛṣṇa who could have preceded or succeeded him; the king who preceded him was his nephew Govinda IV; and the Kṛṣṇa who succeeded him was his son. There was no other Kṛṣṇa, who followed this last and could be called Kṛṣṇa IV, according to any of our authorities.

Jagattunga, the brother of Kṛṣṇa III, in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him; for the latter was succeeded by Khottiga, who appears to have been Kṛṣṇarāja's step-brother according to the Karda grant, and he was followed by the son of his brother Nīrupama. Jagattunga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers.

The name of the grantee ends in appa, or apayya, which shows that he was a Southern Brahman. He belonged to the Kāṇva school of the White Yajurveda, and even at the present day there are followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tālapurumsaka, which was granted, was bounded on the East by another of the name of [Mādātadhindhara], on the South by the river [Kanhanā], on the West by the village of [Mohama] or [Mohama] grāma, and on the North by [Vadhrira] (l. 56 f.). Of these, Kanharā is the present river of the same name, which has a course from the North-west of Nagpur to the South-east; Mohama or Mohama-grāma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chindwada District, about 50 miles to the North-west of Nagpur; and Vadhrira is Berdi in the vicinity of that town. Nothing corres-

ponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

TRANSCRIPT.¹

FIRST PLATE.

- १ ओं [॥*] स जयति [ज]गदुत्स[व]प्रवेशप्रथमपरः करपल्लवो मुरारः ।
ल[सद]मृतपयःक-
- २ १^२णांकलक्ष्मीस्तनकलशाननलब्धसंनिवेशः^३ ॥ [१*] जयति च गिरिजाकपोल-
विम्बादधिगतप-^४
- ३ अविचित्रितांसाभितः । त्रिपुरविजयिनः प्रियोप[रो]धःदृतमदनाभ[यद]नद्या-
सनेव ॥ [२*]
- ४ श्रीमानस्ति नमस्तलैकतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनेत्रोत्स[वो] देवो मन्मथवान्धवः^५ कुमुदि-
नीनाथस्तु-
- ५ धार्षिधितिः^६ । निःशेषामरतर्पणार्पिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतेर्यस्यांशः शिरसा गुण-
प्रियतया
- ६ नूनं धृतः शम्भुना ॥ [३*] तस्माद्विकासनपरः कुमुदाबलीनां दोषाधिकार-
दलनः परिपूरिताशः । ज्यो-
- ७ [स्त्र]ाप्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥
[४*] अमवदतु[ल]-
- ८ कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवंशो दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिगत-
हरिनील[प्रो]-
- ९ लसन्नायकश्रीरक्षितिलगुणसंगो भूषण[यो] भुवोभूत ॥ [५*] उद्धृत[दै]-
त्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्त[त्र]ा-
- १० वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सात्यकिवर्गभाजस्तुंगा इति
क्षितिभुजः प्र[धि]ता

1 From Dr. Hultzsch's ink-impressions.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read लक्ष्मी.

4 Read लब्ध.

5 Read विम्बा°.

6 Read दान्धव.

7 Read दीधिति.

- ११ वभूषुः^१ ॥ [६*] क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्ष[त]रिपुदान्तिघटोजनिष्ट
रष्टः । तमनु च सुतरा[ष्ट्रकृ]ट-
१२ नाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः [७*] तस्मादरातिव[नि]ताकुच-
चा[रु]हारनीहारभानु[रु]दगा-
१३ दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं [च]कार चतुरभ्युपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्र्वं^३ य [ए]-
तदसिलांगलभिन्न[दु]र्गः^४ ॥ [८*] [त]स्मा-
१४ दपालयदिमा वसुधा पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः क्षरदन्नशुभ्रैः । यत्का-
रितेश्वरगृहैर्व्वसु-
१५ [म]त्पनेककैलससैलनिचितव चिरं विभाति ॥ [९*] गोविन्दराज इति
तस्य वभूव^५ नाम्ना सूनुस्स भो-

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE.

- १६ गभर[भं]गुरराज्य[वि]न्तः । आस्मानुजे^६ निरुप[मे] विनिवेश्य सम्यक्साम्रा-
ज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीचकार ॥ [१०*] [श्वे]-
१७ तातपत्रत्रितयेन्दुविम्बलीलोदयाद्रेः^७ कलिवल्लभाख्यात् । ततः कृतारातिमदेभ-
भंगो जातो जगर्तुग-^८
१८ [श्रु]गाधिराजः ॥ [११*] तत्सूनुरानतृपो तृपतुंगदेवः सोभूत्ससैन्यभरभंगु-
रिताहि[र]ाजः । यो मान्यखे-
१९ ट[म]मरेन्द्रपुरोपहासि गीर्वाणगर्वाभिव खर्व्वयितुं व्यधत् ॥ [१२*] तस्यो-
त्तर्ज्जितगूर्ज्जरो हतहटल्लटो-
२० द्भटश्रीमदो गौडानां विनयव्रतार्पणगुरुस्सामुद्रनिद्राहरः । द्वारस्था[ग]कलिंग-
गांगमगधै-
२१ रभ्यच्चिताज्ञश्चिरं भूनुस्सूततवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ [१३*]
अभूज्जगत्तुंग इति प्रसि-
२२ द्ध[स्त]र्दंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । ^९अलक्षराज्यः स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्या-
गनाप्रार्थनयेव धात्रा ॥ [१४*] त-
२३ ज्ञ[द]नः क्षितिमपालयदिन्द्रराजो यद्रूपस[म्भ]वपराभवभीरुणेव । मानात्पुरै-
२४ [व मद]नेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निज[त]नुः कृत्यते^{१०} [स्म] भस्म ॥
[१५*] [त]स्मादमोघवर्षो^{११}

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Read वभूषुः. | 2 Read चतुरभ्युप ^० . | 3 Read क्षेत्र. |
| 4 Read दुर्गः. | 5 Read वभूव नाम्ना. | |
| 6 The Akṣara नु is entered above the line | | 7 Read विभ्र. |
| 8 Read जगत्तुंग. | 9 Read रभ्यर्चिता ^० . | 10 Read अलक्ष. |
| 11 Read कृत्यते. | 12 Read वर्षो. | |

- २५ [रौ]द्रधनुर्मगज[नि]तबलमहिमा^१ । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिईश्वरधा-
ज्जातः ॥ [१६*] क्षिप्रं दि-
- २६ बं पि[तु]रिव प्रणयाद्गतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । राज्यं दधे
मदनसौख्य-
- २७ विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति विभुतनामधेयः ॥ [१७*] सोप्यंगनानयन-
पाशनि[रु]दधुदिरुन्म[र]-
- २८ र्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्वसत्त्वः ॥ दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृति[रु]धांगः प्रापत्सह्यं सह-
जतेज-
- २९ सि जातज[म्भे] ॥ [१८*] [स]मन्तै[र]थ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्बार्थमभ्यर्धितो^२
देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-
- ३० लोलासैषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो वि[वे]किषु ज[ग]त्तुंगात्मजोमोघ-
वाक्पेयूषा[न्वि]-^३
- SECOND PLATE ; SECOND SIDE.
- ३१ रमोषवर्षवृषतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासवं ॥ [१९*] श्रीकृ[ष्ण]राजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेष्वर-
रादजनि स्रुतः ।
- ३२ [यः] शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेप्यभूद्भुवने ॥ [२०*] [श्री]रट्टराज्यपुरवर-
रक्षापरि[क्षां] मदिन य-
- ३३ स्यात्तां । विपुलां विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपत^४ द्रोहि[णो]ध[स्त]त् ॥ [२१*]
येन मधुकैटभाविब पुनरुन्म-
- ३४ [ग्नौ] जनोपमर्द्दाय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवप्पुक्कौ दुष्टौ ॥
[२२*] र[छ]वा[म]म[ल्ल]विष[द्व]द्भुम[मुद]-
- ३५ [स्य] निहितेन योक्त सनाथा । भूतार्यपुण्यतरुणा वाटीमिव गंगपाटीश्च
॥ [२३*] पश्चि[म]लि[ताणि]-
- ३६ [ग]पल्लवविपत्तिरासी[ज] विस्मयस्यानं । विस्फुरति यत्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वे-
[धि]गांगौधे च^५ [२४*] य[स्य]
- ३७ प[रु]वेक्षिताखिलदक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयसाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्जररहदयात्कालंज-
- ३८ रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ [२५*] अनमन्ना पूर्वपरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलब्ध^६पत् ।
यं [ज]न-

1 Read बल.

2 Read विश्रुत.

3 Read वृद्धि°.

4 Read लम्बाय°.

5 Read 'वाञ्छि°.

6 Read 'मपनन्.

7 This व represents a mark of punctuation (॥).

३९ काज्ञावशमपि मण्डकिनश्चण्डदण्डम[यात्] ॥ [२६*] क्षिप्रदयामदचा 'प्रलम्ब-

भुज(1) [या] पीनायतोर[स्क]या

४० [म्]र्त्य^२ क्रीडिताहितायुतजलेर्वृक्षेभ्यः सत्वोद्भवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पु[रुषो]त्तमं

[भर]सहं विस्वमरा-^३

४१ [भ्यु]द्धृतौ शान्ते धाम्नि लयं गत[ः]^४ प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृतार्थः पिता ॥

[२७*] वृत्ते नृत्तसु[र]ांगने सर[भ]सं

४२ दिव्य[र्षि]दत्ताशिपि श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्त[मधि]तद्वरे^५ राज्याभि[षे]कोत्सवे ।

^६य[स्य]व[रु]करप्रहोय-

४३ मभवत्कंपानुरागोदयादिक्[न्य]ः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवल्लभानुकूल्यप्रियाः^७ ॥ [२८*]

स च पर[भ]-

४४ भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद[मो]घवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातप र म भ [ह] १-^८

४५ रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद[क]ालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्री[मद्व]-

४६ [लभ]नरेन्ददेवः कुशली सर्वार्[के]व^९ स्वजानप[द]ान्स[म]ज्ञाप[यत्यस्तु व]ः

संविदि[तं] यथा [श्री]मा[न्य]-

THIRD PLATE.

४७ [से*] [ट]राजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालातीतसंव[त्स]रशतेष्वष्ट(1)सु द्विषा[ष्टय]धिके-

[वु] शार्ङ्गारसं-

४८ [वत्सरा]न्तर्गतवैशाखसप्तह्रलपञ्चम्या^{१०} मम प्रा[णे]भ्योपि म्रियतमस्य कनीय[सो]

भ्रातुः श्री[म]-

४९ [ज्ज]गत्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्ययशोमिवृद्धये ॥ आपि^{११} च ॥ [ज्ये]ष्ठे भ्रातरि कुण्वता

निरुपमा [भ]क्तिं जितो

५० [लक्ष्म]णः सौ[न्दर्ये]ण^{१२} [म]नोभवः सुचरितै रमस्त ध[र्मात्म] जा^{१३} ।

कान्त्या शी[त]रु[चि]भ्र येन सततं शौ[र्ये]-

५१ ण सिंहो जग[त्सु]गस्या[स्त्व]भिवाञ्छितप्र[दमि]दं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥

[२९*] अनेनाभिसंधिना मया नन्दि-

५२ वद्धनविनि[र्ग]तभारद्वाजस[गोष्ठ]वा[जि]काण्व[शा]सा[सब्रह्म]चारिभःइहसुतवेद[वेद]-
ग]-^{१४}

1 Read प्रलम्ब.

2 Read मर्त्या.

3 Read विश्वमरा.^३

4 The lower dot of the Visarga after गतं is missing. 5 Read नोषित.

6 Read यस्यावद्ध.

7 Read भवल्लभानुकूल्य.

8 Read पादानुध्यान.

9 Read सर्वनिष.

10 Read बहुलपञ्चम्या.

11 Read अपि.

12 Read सौन्दर्येण.

13 Read धर्मात्मजः. The sign after ज in धर्मात्मज may be intended for the Jihvāṁulīya.

14 Read सब्रह्मचारि.

५३ पारगरि[चि]यप्पाय ना[ग]पुरन[न्दि]वर्द्धनान्तर्गततालपु[र्ण]पकनामा ग्रामः सो-
द्वेगः स-

५४ प[रि]क[र]ः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सदण्डदोषदशपरिधः स[र्वो]त्पत्तिसहितः

५५ पू[र्व]प्र[सिद्ध]चतुःसीमपर्यन्तः । 'ब्रह्मदायन्या[ये]नाचन्द्रा[र्क] न[म]स्यो दत्तः । य

५६ [स्य पू]र्वत[ः*] [मादाटाडिडर]न[मा] ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः [कन्हना]नदी ।

पश्चिमतः [मोहम]ग्रामः । उ-

५७ त[रतः] बधीरग्राम] एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं तालपु[र्ण]क^३ रिषियपटय[स्य
रु]पतः कर्षयतो

५८ भुंजतो भोजयतो वा [न के]नचिद्दुष्टाघातः [क]ाय[ः]^३ प^४ यश्च व्या[घा]^५
तं करोति स पञ्चभिरपि महा-

५९ पातकेः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ स्वस्यष्वा^५ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो ह[रे]त
वस्तुन्यरा । [स] विद्यायां रु[मि]-

६० भून्वा पितृभिः [स]ह पच्यते ॥ [३०*] सामान्योर्यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले
का[ले] पालनीयो भवद्भिः । स-

६१ वां[ने]र्वा भावि[न]ः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रा[म]भद्रः ॥ [३१*]
[चे]वान[न्वे]रस्य [भ्रात्रा] यो[ग्या]ट्ये]-

६२ न लि[खितमि]ति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[The first 28 verses are identical with verses 1-8, 10-13, 15-21, 24, and 26-33 of the Karhad plates, and have been already translated above, pp. 285 ff., and also in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, pp. 286 ff.]

(Line 43.) And he, the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the prosperous Akālavarasadeva Prthvivallabha, the prosperous Vallabhānarendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the prosperous Amoghavarasadeva, —being well, commands all the people of his country.—

(L. 46.) "Be it known to you that, while staying in the prosperous capital Mānyakheta, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, on the fifth Tithi of the dark (half) of Vaiśākha falling in the year Śārvarin, for the

1 Read ब्रह्म.

2 Read 'पुर्ववर्क.

3 Read कार्यः ; the upper dot of the Visarga is missing.

4 Instead of this प read ।.

5 Read अन्यच्च,

enhancement of the holy fame of (my) younger brother, the prosperous Jagattungadeva, who is dearer to me even than (my) life,—

(Verse 29.) "Let this grant of land fulfil the wishes of that Jagattunga who has always surpassed Laksmāna in serving (his) eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of love by (his) beauty, the well-known lovable son of Dharma (i. e. Yudhishthira) by (his) good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by (his) lustre, and the lion by (his) bravery;—

(L. 51.) "With this intention I have given to Risiyappa, who has come from Nandivardhana, belongs to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, is a student of the Vāji-Kāva Śākha, (is) the son of Bhāilla, and is conversant with the Vedas and their subsidiary treatises, the village named Tālapurumsaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside, with the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in measurement and inflictions of fate, with all the produce, up to (its) four previously known boundaries, (and) to be respected (i. e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure, in the manner of a gift to a Brahman."

(L. 55.) To the east of it (is) the village named [Mādāta-dhindhara]; to the south the river [Kanbanā]; to the west the village of [Mohama]; (and) to the north the village of [Vadhira].

(L. 57.) No one should cause obstruction to Risiyapayya while he cultivates Tālapurumsaka, defined by these four boundaries, causes (it) to be cultivated, enjoys (it) or causes (it) to be enjoyed. And he who causes obstruction will incur the five great sins; for it is said :—

(V. 30.) " He who takes away land that has been given by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure and is cooked (in hell) together with (his) ancestors "

(V. 31.) " Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, (which is) common to (all) kings."

(L. 61.) Engraved by Yo[grāstyā], the brother of [Ce]vāna-[nvera].

TWO SETS OF RĀSTRAKŪṬA COPPER-PLATES FROM THE NAVASARI DISTRICT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp. 253ff.]

See the Prefatory note at the commencement of the Article on page 293, ante.—N. B. U.

These sets were forwarded to the Society by the Baroda Government and made over to me for transcription and translation. On reading them I found they were the same as those shewn by the Baroda Diwan to Mr. H. H. Dhruva. Mr. Druva published a transcript of them with remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol. XL, but did not give a translation. I have got Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar to prepare one for this paper, and now submit it to the Society.

Each of the plates is 13 inches long and 9 broad. As in the case of the Wardha plates, the first has the Inscription on one side, the second on both, and the third on one. The seal has the figure of Śiva on it. Each of these sets records the grant of a village to a Brahman, made by Indra, the son of Jagattunga and grandson of Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarṣa, of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheta, on the seventh of the bright half of Phālguna, when 836 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The grantee in B, is a Brahman, of the name of Siddhapabbhaṭṭa, son of Vennapabbhaṭṭa of the Lakṣmana Gotra, and student of the Mādhyam-dina School of the Vājasaneyā or white Yajurveda; and the village conveyed is Tenna in the Lāṭa country. In A, the grantee's name is Prabhākaraḥṭṭa, son of Rānapabbhaṭṭa of the same Gotra and Veda as the other, and the village conveyed is Umbarā in the Lāṭa country.

The Rāstrakūṭas belonged, according to this charter also, to the Śātyaki branch of the Yādavas, and the genealogy given in it begins with Dantidurga, the first paramount sovereign of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his uncle Kṛṣṇa. The name of Kṛṣṇa's immediate successor, Govinda II, is omitted, undoubted-

ly because, as stated in the Wardha grant, he was addicted to sensual pleasures and left the government to his brother Nirupama. Nirupama's exploit, given in other grants, is mentioned here also, viz., his having captured the white state umbrella of the king of Kosala and another of a Northern prince. This Northern prince was the king of the Vatsas whose capital was Kauśāmbī, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad.

Dhruva Nirupama was followed by Jagattunga, of whom the only thing said is, that he honoured the Brahmans. His son, who is elsewhere known by the name of Amoghavarsa and Nrpatunga, is here called Śrī-Vallabha. He is represented to have re-established the glory of his family which had been diminished by the Cālukyas, and to have parched or fried the Cālukyas as if they were grains of gram. These Cālukyas must have been the Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi.

His son, who succeeded him, was Kṛsnarāja, elsewhere called Akālavarṣa and Śubhatunga. Of his fights with the Gūrjara, old men used to say when there were heavy showers and rainbows during the rainy-season, "thus did he in anger draw his bow which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, and thus did he rain down his arrows." If in 836 Śaka, the date of the grant, it was old men that thus described his wars with the Gūrjara king, those wars must have taken place about twenty-five or thirty years before 836 Śaka. Akālavarṣa, we know from other sources, came to the throne about 797 Śaka.

Kṛsnarāja had a son of the name of Jagattuna who married Lakṣmī, the daughter of Ranavīgraha, son of Kokkalla, king of Cedi. The issue of this marriage was Indrarāja, whose other name was Nityavarṣa. He is represented to have meditated on the feet of the glorious Akālavarṣa and not on those of his father Jagattunga. As this expression is used with reference to the immediate predecessor on the throne of the reigning king, Indra succeeded his grandfather and not his father. And thus inference is, as we have seen, confirmed by an express statement in the Wardha grant.

Indra residing usually at his capital Mānyakheta, had, when he made these two grants, gone to Kurundaka for the festival

on account of his Patibandha, which probably was the coronation festival. On that occasion he weighed himself against gold and gave away twenty lacks and a half of dramma, and granted Kurundaka and other villages, and restored four hundred others, which had been confiscated by previous princes.

The fact that Indra, the reigning sovereign at Mānyakheta, granted villages in the Lāta country, and not a member of the Lāta branch of the Rāstrakūṭa family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III, and of which we have several grants, raises the presumption that that branch had ceased to exist or been put an end to before this time. The earliest grant of that branch, known as the Baroda grant, is dated Śaka 734, and was issued by Karka, the son of Indra, who was the first Lāta prince or chief.¹ The second is that known as the Kavi grant, which was issued by Govinda, the son of Karka, and is dated Śaka 749.² The third is another Baroda grant, dated Śaka 757, and issued by Dhruvarāja, the son of Karka, the brother of the last Govinda.³ The fourth is that issued by Dhruva, the grandson of this Dhruvarāja, and dated Śaka 789.⁴ The fifth is in my possession. It was issued in the same year as the fourth, by Dantivarman, the brother of Dhruva. Up to the description of Dhruva it agrees almost word for word with the fourth. The sixth was issued in Śaka 810 by Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarsa, who appears to have been a son of Dantivarman.⁵ We have no grant of a later date of any prince of this family; but the next Gujarat Rāstrakūṭa grant is that issued by a vassal of Kṛṣṇa II, or Akālavarsa of the main branch, or by Kṛṣṇa II himself in Śaka 832.⁶ And in the grants before us we have his grandson and successor assigning villages in the same country in the year Śaka 836.

1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol VIII, pp 292-303, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 162.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 144 ff

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 196 ff.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.

6 Epigraphia Indica, Vol I, pp. 52 ff.

It would thus appear that the province of Lāta was resumed by the Rāstrakūtas of Mānyakheta after 810 Śaka and before 832, i. e., in the time of Kṛṣṇa II or Akālavarsa. And this is confirmed by what we find stated in the Wardha plates, where Kṛṣṇarāja or Akālavarsa is represented to have "put an end to the arrogance of the lord of Lāta." And from the grants, No 4 and No 5, we see that the Rāstrakūtas of Lāta were not on terms of peace with their kinsmen of the main branch. One of them, Dhruva, who issued the second Baroda grant of Śaka 757, is represented in those grants to have been killed in a battle with Vallabha, and his son to have recovered his lost kingdom. This Vallabha must have been Amoghavarsa I, the son of Govinda III.

The village Tenna is identified with Tena which is situated in the Navsari district, and Umbarā may be the modern Baṇumbra, with the prefix Bag.

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TRANSCRIPT

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I

ॐ स्वस्ति । स बोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नामिकगलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दु-
कलया कम-

लंकृतम् ॥ जयति विबुधबन्धुर्विविधविस्तारिविशम्वलवि-
लोलकौस्तुभः कंस[के]

तुः । मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभर्षरिताम्य-
सारकास्ते कटा-

क्षाः ॥ स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयधराः समरसमुद्रतदुद्धरारिचक्रः ।
अपहृतबलिम्-

ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ अस्मि श्रोनाथना-
भिस्फुरदुरसरसामोज-

जन्मा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदभूतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि ।

तस्माद्वेशो यदूनां

जगति स वशुधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विजलैः शाङ्गी गोपाङ्गानां नयन-
कुबलयै-

रच्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये धिततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिवुर्ग-
 नृपतिः
 पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलघेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्व शंखचक्र-
 करलाञ्छ-
 नमाजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मुदु विमर्श
 च मध्यदेशं ।
 यस्यासमस्य समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः काष्ठी(ञ्ची) पदे पदमकारि
 करेण भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सा-
 नुवप्रप्रबलकपिकुलोद्भूतफुल्लवङ्गादाकैलासाद्भवानीचलचरणरण-
 नूपुरो-
 म्मादिदान्तात् । यस्याज्ञा भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालाध-
 मानामानम्रैरु-
 त्तमाङ्गैरवीनितलुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जणभिजमुजेन
 पुनर्लिजगीषोः स्वर्गं
 विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ॥ तत्रामवस्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः
 श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
 तिर प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ दिक्कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभङ्गालीलायमान-
 घनविस्तृतकान्तकी-

II.—First side.

तैः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकलक्ष्मिलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवद्य-
 शौर्यः ॥ कीर्तिः(तैः) कु-
 न्दरुवः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भ सितौ लक्ष्म्याः पाणितिले विला-
 सकमलं पूर्णे-
 न्दुविम्बद्युति । एकं कपितकोसलेश्वरकरादाभिन्नमन्वत्पुनर्यैनोदी-
 च्यनराधिपाय-
 श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुङ्गो जन्म सन्मानितद्विजः ।
 सोपि श्रीवल्ल-
 भं सुनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निमग्नं यश्चलुक्क्याब्धौ रह्राज्यश्रियं
 पुनः । पृथ्वामिवोद्धर-
 न्धरौ वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलितस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानीतक-
 ष्टकः । योदहद्वे(द्वे)-
 णि, णश्चण्डचलुन्याथणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्चलुक्क्यकुलकन्दलकालकेतो-
 स्तस्मादकृ

णवरितोजनि कुण्णराजः। पीतापि कर्णपुटकेरसकृजनेन कीर्त्तिः
परि-

भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्दोधितिरत्नजालजाटिलं व्या-
कृष्टमी-

दृग्धनुः कुद्धेनोपरि वैरेवीराक्षोरसामेवं विदुः काः शराः । धारा ना-
रिणि सेन्द्रचापव-

लये यस्येत्यमब्दागमे गर्जद्गर्जरसंगरव्यातिकरं जीर्णो जनः
शम्भा(शंस)ति ॥ अ-

जनि जनितभंगो वैरेवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तु-
गदेवः । ध्वजसर

सिजशंखप्रोल्लसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्यल्लभो वीरलङ्कायाः ॥
आसीत्कोप्यथ

हृद्धान्वयमवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्जद्गुर्जयरावगोर्जितलतद्दो-

रः । विश्रान्तेः श्रवणेषु नाकतदसा यत्कीर्त्तितामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-

तैर्व्याप्ताः ककुम्भितयः ॥ वंशे तस्य रूपन्नवंशरशो कोकलभू-
पात्मजो राजा श्री-

II—Second side

रणविग्रहस्तमभवच्चेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्निमण्ड-
नमुषः रा(स)व्योपि पृथ्वीप-

तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुविष प्रयति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकल-
गुणगणाब्धेर्विष्णु(स्फु)रद्वाम-

धाम्नः कलितप्रमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमु-
देन्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

हृत्तिरिष परिणिम्बे तां जगत्तुङ्गादेवः ॥ चतुरदधितटान्तख्यातशौ-
भोय ताभ्यामभव-

वरिवरद्वे रटकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां
सकलजनशरण्यः पु-

ष्यलम्बणराशिः ॥ देवो यत्तुरम्बुराक्षिरशनरोचिष्णुविश्वम्भ-
रामाकामसिजविक्रमेण स-

मञ्जुव श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । क्षुत्वा जन्म यदोयमाकुलधिया जनतुः
समं विद्विषां

दैर्न्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं भौलयः ॥ कृतगोवर्द्ध-
नोद्धारं हेलो-

न्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥

सकलजनम (न)मस्यः

मोक्षं कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान(न्) । उपरि
परशुरामस्यैक-

कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिभ्यस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव ॥ स च परमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराज-

परमेश्वरश्रीमदाल्लवर्षदेवपाद।नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वर-

श्रीमन्नित्यवर्णनरेन्द्रदेव कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकाभाष्ट-
पतिविषयपतिग्राम-

कूटयुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहतरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संवि-
दितं यथा श्रीमान्य-

खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया
मातापित्रोरात्म-

नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनसम्राज्ञाया-

III

रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत्तश्रीवेन्नपभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदे-

शान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्ज-

समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपल्लिका दक्षिणतो नाम्भी-
तराकं पश्चिमतो बली-

शा उत्तरतो वथियणग्रामः एवमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्तोद्वंगः
सपरिकरः सट्ठ-

दशापरगः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्य[दे]योभ्यन्तरसि-
द्धया शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-

शतेज्वत्प्रास पट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने
श्रीपट्टबन्धोन्स-

वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामान-
न्यान्यपि पूर्व्वपृथ्वीपालवि-

लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रम्मलक्षैस्ताद्धैः सह विमुच्य
बलिचरुहैश्चदेवाग्नि-

होत्रातिथिसंतर्पणार्थमद्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्थोचितया ब्रह्मदाय-
स्थित्या
भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केन-
चिदल्पापि परि-
पन्थना कार्या तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विसे(शे)षोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः यश्चाङ्गाना-
ल्लोपयति स पञ्चभिर्महा-
पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे-
त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ अग्रेरपत्यं प[प्र]थमं
सुवर्णं भूवैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गा-
वः लौकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः काचनं गां च मही च दद्यात् ॥
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
श्रीत्रिविक्रममटेन नेमादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेय-
मिन्द्रराजाग्रिसेविना ॥ श्रीः

A.

I

स्वस्ति । स बोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ जयति
विबुधबन्धुर्व्विव्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोल्कास्तुभः कंसकेतुः ।
मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृ-
त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ स जयति
भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-
समुद्धृतदुर्धरारिचक्रः । अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र
हवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥
अस्ति श्रीवायनामिस्फुरदुत्तरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभू । स्तस्मादग्निः
सुतोभूदभृतकरपरिस्प-

न्द इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्वंशो यदूनां जयति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्ते-
 र्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानाक्षा(नां न)
 मनकुवलयैश्चयमजबवार ॥ तन्वान्वये विततसात्यकिवशजन्मा
 श्रीदन्तिदुर्गनृप-
 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । बालुक्थयशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीयं
 शंखचक्रकरलाञ्छन-
 माजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारि जघन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्षं
 च मध्यदे-
 शं । यस्यासमस्य [स]मरे बसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे पद्मकारि करेण
 भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सानुव-
 प्रप्रबलकपि[कुलो]स्तूनफुल्लबङ्गादाकैलासाद्रबानीचलच[र]णरण-
 भूपुरोभादितान्तात् ।
 यस्याङ्गां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालायमानामानघैरुत्त-
 माङ्गरवानतललुठञ्जा-
 नवो मानवन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जिजगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतु-
 मिव तस्य गतस्य राहः । तत्रा-
 भवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ।
 दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
 भंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमल-
 करिष्णोस्तस्मादभू-
 तिरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्यः । कीर्तिः कुन्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान-
 कुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः

III.—first side

लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूष्णेन्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कपित-
 कोसलेधरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
 नर्मोक्षीच्यनराधिपाद्यश इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लभे जग-
 त्तुंगो जन्म सम्मानि-
 तद्विजः । सापि श्रीवल्लभं सूर्यं राजराजमजीजनर् ॥ निमग्नां यश्च-
 लुक्क्याब्धौ रट्टराज्यधि-
 यं पुनः । पृथ्वीभिबोद्धरन्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलि-
 तस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानी-
 तकण्ठकः । योद्धद्वे(द्वे)षि यश्चण्डबलुक्थयशजलधेः ॥ उषेध-
 लुक्थयकुलकन्दलकालके-

तोस्तस्मादकृष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसकृ-
 उज्जनेन कीर्तिः परिभ्र-
 मति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकुष्टमी-
 दृग्धनुः । क्रुद्धेनोप-
 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचाप-
 वलये यस्ये-
 त्थमब्दागमे गर्जद्गूर्जरसङ्गारव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः शान्तः (शंस)
 ति ॥ अजनि जनि-
 तमङ्गो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगन्नाथदेवः । अज-
 सरसि-
 जशंखप्रोलसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥
 आसीत्कोप्य-
 य हेहयाम्बयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्जद्दुर्जयरावणोज्जितलसद्दो-
 ह्ण्डकण्डू-
 हरः । विश्रान्तेः श्रवणेषु नाकसदृता यत्कीर्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः
 सान्द्रमुधारसेन लि-
 खितेर्व्यासाः ककुब्भित्तयः ॥ वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोकल-
 भूपालजो राजा श्रीर-
 णविग्रहः समभवच्चर्दश्वरः कीर्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरं प्रिमण्डनमुषः
 सर्वोपि पृथ्वीप-
 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः प्रक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकलगु-
 णगणाब्धेर्विविष्णुः (स्फुर)रक्षा-
 मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदे-
 न्नुः सुन्दरीचिस्तहारी

II.—Second side.

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्सुगैरेव ॥ चतुरुदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्षीथ
 ताभ्यामभवदर्दर-
 धरद्वो रष्टकन्दर्पदेवः । ममसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीमां सक-
 लजनशरण्यः पु-
 ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च बिम्बं नव-
 नलिनमृणालं चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां
 च । अपरमपि यदयैर्जन्मनिर्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानान्दि-
 वेधाः ॥ देवो

यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामान्नजविक्रमेण समभूत्
श्रीकीर्तिनारा-

यणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलाधियां जग्मुः समं विद्विषां दैन्यं
वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भ-

यं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्र-

भिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ रुक्मलननमस्यः सोथ
कृत्वा नमस्या-

न्धुवनपतिरेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुरामस्यैककुग्रामदाम-
स्फुरितगुणगरिम्गस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव । स च परमभट्टारकमहारा-
जाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर
श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथा-
संबध्य-

मानान् राष्ट्रपतिविपयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्त-
रादी-

न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना
श्रीप-

ट्टबन्धाय कुरुन्दकमागतने मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्य-

•III

यशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिणे
राणपभट्टसुताय

प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्जसमीपे उम्बरा नाम ग्रामः
यस्य पू-

र्वत तोलजकं दक्षिणतो मांगलिका पश्चिमतः संकाग्राम उत्तरतो
जवलकूपकमे-

वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलाक्षितः सोद्विगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः
सोत्पद्यमान-

विष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः
शकनृपकारः-

तीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्ध-
सप्तम्यां संपन्ने

TEXT

श्रीपद्मबन्धोत्सवे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरतः च कुरुन्दकादा-
 न्प्रामान्
 अन्यान्यपि पूज्यैर्ध्वजपालविलुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विशान-
 द्रमलक्षैस्सा-
 द्वैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्रहोत्रार्ताथसेतपणा-
 र्थमा(म)-
 योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थिन्या भुञ्जतो भोजयतः
 कृषतः
 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मे न केनचिदन्यपि परिपयना कार्या
 तथागामिभिरस्म-
 द्द्वैरन्यैर्व्या सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषायम्-
 स्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्त-
 व्यः यश्चाङ्गानाल्लोपयति स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्युक्तः
 च भगवता व्यासेन ॥
 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ सा-
 मान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनायो भवद्भिः । सत्त्वाने-
 तान्भाविनः पाथिवेन्द्रान्
 भ्योभ्यो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादिभ्यम्
 सुनुना । कृता प्रशस्तेय श्री-

TRANSLATION

B

May he (Visnu) protect you, the lotus springing from whose
 navel was made his abode by Brahman, and [may] Hera too [do
 the same] whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the
 moon. Victorious is he who has Kamsa for his banner (i.e. is
 noted for his destruction of Kamsa) [Kṛṣṇa], the friend of the
 gods, on whose chest, broad as the Vindhya [mountain], dangle
 the pure Kaustubha, and on whose lotus-like face the stage dance
 the sidelong glances of Lakṣmī with the pupils dulled from the
 weight of love. Ever victorious is the Upendra-like Indrarāja-
 deva, the Nṛsimha (the lion among men; Viṣṇu in one of his
 incarnations), in whose strong arm rests Lakṣmī, who has received

out in battles the circle of enemies difficult to withstand, and who has done away with the Balimandala (the array of the mighty ; Bali and his circle). The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the expansive fresh lotus springing from the navel of the Lord of Lakṣmī. Of him was born the son Atri, and of Atri again [was born] the moon, who sends forth nectared rays, and out of him grew on the earth the dynasty of the Yadus, in which [at one time] moved Kṛṣṇa who was worshipped by the cowherds' wives with the lotuses, their eyes, accompanied with various blandishments. To that family belonged the Puruṣottama (the best of men ; Visnu), King Dantidurga, born in the wide Sātyaki branch, to whom of herself came Lakṣmī from the ocean of the Cālukya family, marked as his hands were with a conch and a disc (two of the things by the possession of which Visnu is marked ; auspicious marks on the palms of hands resembling these objects) ; whose hand, matchless in battle that he was, having first established itself on the beautiful Jaghanyadeśa (the region of the hips ; lowermost country) of his wife, the earth, and again pressed down tenderly at its will the Madhyadesa (waist ; the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya Mountains), again established itself on the Kāñcīpada (the region below the waist where the girdle is worn ; province of Kāñcī) ; whose orders all the kings obeyed with bowed heads and with knees bent to the ground, from the Setu (bridge), the blossoming Lavanga trees on the grounds on the summit of which are deflowered by host of big monkeys, up to Kailāsa, the regions of which are noisy from the sounding Nūpuras on the moving feet of Bhavānī, the orders forming the wreath on their heads with which come in contact their joined hands. When the king, after having conquered the world by means of his arm, had gone to heaven, as if to conquer it, being desirous for a fresh victory, his paternal uncle, king Kṛṣṇarāja, of well-known prowess, filled his refulgent throne. Of him, whose thick, wide and brilliant fame looked on the faces of the quarters, the women, like sandal-wood decorations, and who adorned the mountain, the family of the Rāstrakūṭas, was born Nirupama of spotless valour, who in battle snatched away from the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosalas, one white umbrella (of royalty), which was glory itself as it were ; which was the

white auspicious pot for the starting of his fame, white as the Kunda flower, on a journey to all the worlds ; which was the sporting lotus in the hands of Laksmī, and had the beauty of the full-moon ; and another from a king of the Northern People. Of him had birth Jagattunga, who honoured the Brahmans, and he in his turn had for his son Śrīvallabha, the king of kings, who, the wise one, while raising again the glory of the Ratta kingdom, which had been drowned in the Cālukya ocean, appeared like Viranāryana raising the earth ; who parched up (or fried) like gram his enemies, the fiery Cālukyas, having plucked out their stalks from the roots and having threshed out by means of Danda (a stick ; punishment) the Kantakas (thorny substance ; obnoxious persons). Of him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain-tree, the high family of the Cālukyas, was born Kṛṣṇarāja of unspotted life, whose fame, white as the moon, ranges over the world, though constantly drunk by people by means of the cavities of their ears ; the occurrence of whose thundering fights which the Gūrjara old men describe on the arrival of the rainy season of heavy showers and rain-bows by saying, " Thus did he in anger draw his bow, which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, thus did he rain down his arrows on the heads of his warrior enemies. " Of him was born Jagattungadeva, who broke up the host of his enemies, who brought low the beauty of Madana, who has on (the palm of) his hand a discus shining in the midst of a banner, a lotus and a conch, who by his greatness surpassed Visnu, and who was the beloved of the soldierly Laksmī. There was a king (by name) Sahasrārjuna, born in the Haihaya family, who quieted the itching of the powerful and throbbing arms of the thundering and unconquerable Ravana, and by writing with thick nectar the letters setting forth whose name and fame, which found a resting-place in the ears of the gods, the walls in the shape of the quarters were filled up by the Siddhas. In the family of him, who was a hatchet to the families of his enemies, there was the famous king Śrīranavighraha, the son of king Kakkalla and lord of Cedi, into the Mandala (the circle of feudatory princes) of whom, thief as he was of the decorations of his enemies' wives, entered every Vikala (ruined) lord of the earth on the occurrence of his Pakṣaksaya (ruin of his

followers) as the Vikala (waned) moon enters the Mandala (disc) of the sun on the occasion of his Paksaksaya (the end of the [bright] fortnight) He, who was an ocean of the whole collection of virtues and was the dwelling place of brilliant lustre, had a daughter, Lakṣmī, who was Kalilakamalapānī (having lotus-like hands ; having a lotus in her hands). Jagattungadeva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race and the ravisher of the hearts of women, married her like Hari himself. From them sprang Rattakundarpadeva (the lord who was the cupid of the family of the Rattas), whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was the grinding-stone to his enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, and who was a refuge to all men and a store of heavenly beauty ; the lord, who overrunning by his valour the earth, beautified by its girdle, the four oceans, became Viranārāvana, and on hearing of whose birth the beauty of the faces of his distressed enemies came by pallor, their minds by fear, and their heads by their joined hands (indicative) of servitude, all at the same time ; who, the Indrarāja, rooting out Meru with ease, was not surprised at his (thus) surprising Upendra (Viṣṇu) who lifted Govardhana Worthy of the homage of all men, the lord of the world, by making numerous grants to gods and Brahmans, which were to be respected (by all), surpassed, by the fame of his charity, Parasurāma, who owed the (fame of the) greatness of his virtues (charity) to his gift of one wretched village That lord of the kings of men, the glorious Nityavarsa, the highest lord, the king of great kings, the highest ruler, meditating on the feet of the glorious Akālavarṣa, the highest lord, the king of great kings and the highest ruler, commands, being in the enjoyment of good health, all governors of districts and subdivisions, the heads of villages, the employés and holders of offices, great men, &c, so far as they are concerned with these orders : Be it known to you that I, who live in my capital Mānyakheta, and have come at present to Kurundaka for the festive occasion of my coronation (?), have, on the completion of the coronation ceremony, after weighing myself against gold, and without coming down from the pan, given away, together with 20 lakhs and a half of drammas, Kurundaka and other villages and 400 villages besides, confiscated by previous kings, given away by pouring

water, for the enhancement of the religious merits and fame in this world and the next of my parents and myself, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, in the year Yuvan, when 836 years have passed after the time of the Śaka king, the village called Tenna, in the vicinity of Kammanijja, in the country of Lāta, to Siddhapabbhava, the son of Vennapabbhava and inhabitant of Pātaliputra, a student of the Vājasaneyi Mādhyamdina Śākhā, of the Gotra of Laksmans; to the east of which (village) lies Vāradapallikā, to the south the lake Nāmbhi, to the west Valisā, and to the north the village of Vathiyana, that he might by its means perform the rites of Bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and hospitality—this village which is thus marked off by these four boundaries, with whatever stands on the land, and with appurtenances, with the flaws in the measurement and the mishaps, with whatever might be raised on the land by labour, and the revenue in grain and gold. Therefore, no one should in the slightest degree obstruct him while enjoying and allowing others to enjoy this in the manner of a Brahman-gift, while cultivating or allowing others to cultivate it or conveying it to anybody else. In the same manner the good kings of the future, whether of my family or of any other, bearing in mind that the fruit of the gift of land is common (to all kings), should respect this gift of mine exactly as they would their own. He who through ignorance takes it away incurs the five great sins. Indeed, the blessed Vyāsa says: "The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years; while he who resumes it," or approves of its being so resumed dwells in hell for as many years. Gold is the first child of Agni (fire), land is Viṣṇu's, and cows are the daughters of the Sun; he who gives gold, a cow and land makes a gift of the three worlds." "This bridge of religious merits (viz, making gifts of land) common to kings should at all times be respected by you." So prays Rāmabhadra again and again to all the great kings of the future. This praiseworthy charter was composed by Trivikramabhadra, the son of Nemāditya, the servant of the feet of Indrarāja.

A

Portions additional to, or differing from, B.

II b, lines 3-4. मदनममृतं With the insignificant remnants of the materials of whose creation, did Brahmā verily create other delightful things, viz, Madana, the disc of the Moon dropping drops of nectar, the young lotus-stalk, sandal-wood and moonlight.

II b, line 12. श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभ. The beloved one of the Earth and of Laksmī.

III b, lines 1-3. लक्ष्मणगोत्राय &c. The village called Umbarā in the vicinity of Kammanijja in the country of Lāta, to Prabhākarabhatta, the son of Rāṇapabhatta, and a student of the Vājasaneyi Mādhyamdina Śākhā, of the Gotra Laksmāna; to the east of which (village) lies Tolajaka, to the south Mogalikā, to the west, the village of Saṃkī, and to the north the Javala well.

III, line 5. पुर्वदेवग्रहदायकहितः excluding the previous gifts to gods and Brahmins.

A. Om. लोकत्रयं—नयात्.

A. Om शस्ता and इन्द्रराजाभिसेविता.



THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA KING KṚṢṆARĀJA I. AND ELĀPURA.

[From the Indian Antiquary, 1883, Volume XII, pages 228ff.]

While preparing a paper on the Early History of the Deccan for the Bombay Gazetteer, I had to give an account of Kṛṣṇarāja, an early Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and successor of Dantidurga, and in this connection had to examine the Baroda copper-plate Inscription published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII, pp. 292ff. It struck me that an important passage relating to this king had been misunderstood by the translator, and I found that Dr. Buhler and Mr. Fleet, when they had occasion to write about Kṛṣṇarāja accepted this translation, and spoke of Kṛṣṇarāja as having built a fort on the hill at Elāpura. Dr. Bühler thought one of the stanzas was badly deciphered or was corrupt, and made out that a temple of Śiva was constructed in addition to a hill fort; but he did not identify Elāpura.¹ Mr. Fleet expressed his opinion that Elāpura was the same as Yellapur in North Canara.² And now, in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, pages 156ff, Mr. Fleet has given a revised transcript and translation of the Inscription, together with a facsimile. But I am sorry to observe his translation of the passage in question is still unsatisfactory. As the point involved is important, I take the liberty of discussing the sense of the passage, and feel little doubt that a scholar like Mr. Fleet will himself acknowledge the appropriateness of the translation I have to give. The two stanzas are :—

एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसन्निवेशं
यद्दीक्ष्य विस्मितावमनचरामरेन्द्राः ।
एतस्व(स्व)यम्भु शिवधाम न रुचिमे श्री-
दृष्टेदृशीति सततं बहु चर्चयन्ति ॥
भूयस्तथाविधकृतो व्यदसायहाने-
रेतन्मया कथमहो कृतमित्यकस्मात् ।
कर्तापि यस्य सलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी
तन्नाम कीर्तनमकार्यत येन राज्ञा ॥

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 61.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 124.

Mr. Fleet corrects the कृत्रिम of his facsimile to कृत्रिमम् in line 2. But the original is appropriate, and the emendation will not do.

Mr. Fleet translates the passage thus :—" Having seen his wonderful encampment situated on the mountain of Elāpura, the astonished immortals, who travel in celestial cars, always take much thought, saying :—" This is the abode of Svayambhu-Śiva, and no artificially made (dwelling) ; Śrī, (if she could be) seen, (would be) such as this.' Verily even the architect who built it felt astonishment, saying :—" (The utmost) perseverance would fail to accomplish such a work again, ah ! how has it been achieved by me !' ; (and) by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name."

The evident objections against this translation are :—1st. Mr. Fleet takes एला—सन्निवेश as a Karmadhāraya compound, and a substantive noun, not an adjective. But in that case its gender ought to be masculine, since सन्निवेश is a masc. noun ; but it is not so here, because यद् which is neuter, qualifies it. यद् ought to be यम् if the compound is a Karmadhāraya and a substantive

2. There must be a तद् to answer to this यद्, but where this तद् is, does not clearly appear from the translation. Mr. Fleet perhaps takes यद् to refer to king Kṛṣṇa, but in that case it ought to be यस्य, and then only can it be connected with the compound एला—सन्निवेशम्.

3 Svayambhu-Siva is taken as a compound ; but Svayambhu as an adjective of Siva or as a crude ought to have the ending vowel long, while it is short here ; and the metre does require a short vowel.

4. There is no reason why कृत्रिम should be regarded as a mistake for कृत्रिमम्

5. When a noun and an adjective are put together, the copula only can be understood between them and not verbs of the potential or conditional mood. Mr. Fleet, however, understands ' would be ' after Śrī, and ' if she could be ' in connection with दृष्टा.

6. Mr. Fleet translates येन as " by reason of it " " Of what ? " I would ask. Certainly not, " of his being struck with astonishment," which is what precedes.

7. What could have led the author of the verses to compare "an encampment" with a temple of Śiva? Such a comparison is inappropriate as there is no resemblance.

8. Why should an abode of Śiva be contrasted with an artificially made dwelling; in other words, what is the necessity of denying this attribute of a temple of Śiva?

According to my way of taking it the two stanzas form one sentence. The principal clause is येन राज्ञा कीर्तनमकार्येन and the rest are attributive adjuncts of कीर्तन. The word कीर्तन has been understood in its usual and etymological sense by Mr Fleet and the first translator; that sense is not at all appropriate here and the word must be taken to signify "a temple." Though the dictionaries do not give this sense, there is no question the word does denote a "temple." Thus in Mr. Telang's Śilāhāra grant, we have

सं(शं)भोर्यो द्वादसा(शा)पि व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तनानि(नि).

"Who verily constructed in a short time twelve temples of Śiva." (Ind. Ant., Vol IX, p. 34, ll. 1-2.) The word occurs in other Inscriptions also where it must be interpreted as "a temple."

In the Agni Purāṇa we have in the Chapter 'on the Construction of Temples,'—

तस्माद्विस्तं समासाय देवाद्वा पौरुषादथ ।

दद्यात्सम्यग्द्विजाद्येभ्यः कीर्तनानि च कारयेत् ॥

(Ed. Bib. Ind., Vol. I, p. 111.)

"Therefore having got wealth by luck or by exertion, one should give it in the proper way to the best among the twice-born and cause temples to be constructed."

Similarly in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, in the description of the victorious march of a prince, we have—

आदिशन्देशव्यवस्थाः स्थापयन्स्वचिह्नानि कुर्वन्कीर्तनानि लेखयन् शासनानि.....
पृथिवीं विचचार ।

1 This reference I owe to Mr. Telang himself.

“He traversed the earth, dictating arrangements for the government of countries, placing his memorials, constructing temples, causing grants to be written, &c.”

In Someśvara's Kirtikaumudī we have

महता विद्यमानानां विचेनोपकरोति यः ।

स्वगंतानां जगत्पूर्वकीर्त्तिनोद्दरणेन तु ॥

This occurs in the description of Vastupāla in the fourth canto. The sense is, “[That Vastupāla] who does good to the great who are living by means of wealth, and to those who are dead by the restoration of dilapidated works of public utility (such as tanks, wells &c.) and temples.”¹

The words in the two stanzas before us are to be thus syntactically connected :—

यद् एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसंनिवेशम् [कीर्त्तिनम्] वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामेन्द्राः “एतद् शिवधाम स्वयम्, इदंशी भूः कृत्रिमे न दृष्टा” इति सततम् बहु चर्चयन्ति; यस्य [कीर्त्तिनस्य] कर्ता शिल्पी अपि सलु भूयस्तथाविधकृतौ व्यवसायहानेः “अहो कथम् एतद् मया कृतम्” इति अकस्मात् विस्मयम् अपि तद् नाम कीर्त्तिनम् येन राजा अकार्यत.

Here येन राजा is, like यो and यस्मिन् in the preceding sentences and येन in the following, to be connected with इष्णगज जज्ञे in the first sentence in which the description of this king begins. It is usual in Sanskrit literature when a description is given, to introduce each sentence by the relative pronoun and make it an attributive adjunct of the subject in the principal sentence, i. e., the thing or person described. A close translation of this is :—

“[That king] by whom, verily, was caused to be constructed a temple on the hill at Elāpura, of a wonderful structure,—on seeing which the best of immortals who move in celestial cars, struck with astonishment, think much constantly, saying, ‘This temple of Śiva is self-existent; in a thing made by art such beauty is not seen,’—a temple, the architect-builder of which, in consequence of the failure of his energy as regards [the construction of] another such work, was himself suddenly struck with astonishment, saying, ‘Oh, how was it that I built it!’”

1 My attention was called to this passage by Prof. Abaji V. Kathavate, of Ahmedabad, who has been editing the Kirtikaumudī for the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

एला-संनिवेशम् is to be taken as a Bahuvrīhi qualifying कर्तिनम् understood; ऋ- is an indeclinable adverb meaning "verily;" स्वयम् has its final vowel shortened because it qualifies the neuter noun Śivadhāma.

In this passage therefore, Kṛṣṇarāja is represented to have caused to be constructed on the hill at Elāpura, a temple of Śiva of extraordinary beauty, and in the next stanza, the idol is spoken of as having been decorated by the king with rubies, gold, and all other precious things. Here, too, Mr. Fleet translates Yena by "by means of it," but it ought, as in the preceding sentence, to be rendered as "by whom," i. e., by the king.

Now, when the ending pura of names of places undergoes a change in the vernaculars, it becomes urā, and in rare cases ora. Thus we have Chittur for Chitrapura, Indor for Indrapura, Sirur for Śrīpura, Simhur for Simhapura, Nandūr or Nandor for Nandipura, Bishnur for Viṣṇupura, Mysore for Mahisapura, Teur (often spelt Tevur) for Tripura, &c. Thus then Elāpura should become Elur, and with the termination ka which is the Sanskrit original of the vernacular ending ā, we have Elurā.

It is, therefore, a temple of extraordinary beauty on the hill at Elurā that Kṛṣṇarāja, in these two stanza- is said to have caused to be constructed; very likely it was the Kailāsa itself, since it is spoken of with such admiration.

The date of the grant in which Dantidurga is represented to have conquered the Cālukyas and become paramount sovereign is Śaka 675, and Kṛṣṇarāja is, in the Radhanapur grant also, spoken of as having wrested the supreme sovereignty from the Cālukyas. It therefore appears that Dantidurga died without completing his work, i. e., soon after Śaka 675, since his successor had to continue it. Kṛṣṇarāja, therefore, reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, i. e., between 753 and 778 A. D.

A KALACURI COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM THE BELGAUM DISTRICT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp. 269ff.]

See the Prefatory remark at the commencement of the Article on page 293, ante, and also page 318, ante.—N. B. U.

The (next) set of three copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which I place before the Society, was put into my hands to be used for historical purposes by my friend Mr. D. R. Natu, LL. B., who is a pleader in the District Court at Belgaum. It was in the possession of the Desai of Kokahnur, a large village about 12 miles to the south-east of Athni, which is a Taluka station in the Belgaum District.

Each of the plates is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and about 9 inches in breadth. The lines are engraved breadth-wise and we have the Inscription on one side of the first plate, both sides of the second, and one side of the third. The seal has the figure of a bull. The nasals in the body of a word are uniformly marked by an Anusvāra, as we do at the present day, and ँ always appears in the form of ँ. The Sanskrit of the grant is excellent, including the prose portions, and the poetry is full of very extravagant conceits, which mark a further progress in the degeneration of taste. The name of the composer was Ādityadeva, pupil of Śrī-pāda, who calls himself "the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in matters of learning."

The Inscription records the grant of land measuring four Nivartanas¹ to each of fourteen Brahmans, and a rice-field measuring one Nivartana, and a flower-garden of an equal area, to the god Someśvara for purposes of daily worship, in the village of

¹ Nivartana is defined as equal to 30 Daṇḍas or poles. But a pole is taken to be equal to 10 cubits or 7 cubits. The Daṇḍa in this grant is called Maḍadaṇḍa, and probably had its own measure.

Baṭṭaci in the Kanamvade country by Soma, the son of Vijjana of the Kalacuri dynasty of Kalyāna. The grant was made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Kārttika, in the year 1096 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1174 A. D., the cyclic year being Jaya. Here I find, instead of the usual expression, "years elapsed since the time of the Śaka king" or "the era of the Śaka king," occurring in the earlier grants, simply "in Śaka 1096," which shows that the word Śaka had, about the end of the eleventh century of that era, lost its original signification of "a particular race of foreigners" and come to signify an era generally.

"The Kalacuri family is," it is stated, "famous in the three worlds as a mine of Kṣatriya jewels." That it was one of the leading royal families of the Middle Ages is undoubted. The kings of Cedi, with whom the later Rāstrakūta princes of the Deccan were connected by marriage, belonged to it. Their capital was Tri-pura the modern Tevur, near Jabalpur, and they held a strong fortress named Kālāñjara.

The branch to which Soma belonged appears to have been very unimportant. The first person mentioned in the grant before us is Kṛṣṇa. He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and he by his son Paramardin. Paramardin's son was Vijjana, who raised the family to importance. All these chiefs must have been dependents of the Cālukyas of Kalyāna.

Vijjana had attained to the position of Dandanāyaka or of Minister of War under Tailapa II, and while he held that office, he rebelled against his master and assumed supreme sovereignty. He is represented in the grant before us to have fought with the Pāṇḍya, the Cola, the Vanga, and the Mālava.

Vijjana was succeeded by his son Soma, upon whom the grant bestows the most extravagant and bombastic praise, making him out to be a paragon of all human and soldierly virtues, and as the wisest and most powerful sovereign. But herein we see the anxiety of the composer to show off his own "paramount sovereignty in the domain of learning," to which he laid a claim, and to please the reigning monarch, and not his desire to portray the truth. And there is not a single particular fact mentioned in the whole

passage. But from every indication, it appears that the Kalacuri princes of Kalyāna were never able to consolidate their power; they had not succeeded even in completely dispossessing their masters who still held sway over a part of the country; and the dynasty after a troublous and precarious existence for about 25 years became extinct.

There is a village of the name of Badachi, in the vicinity of Athni, about four miles to the north-west of Kokahnur, which in all likelihood is the Battaci of our grant. About 24 miles to the north-west of Athni, is a village of the name of Kanavadi, with a population of nearly 3,000 persons, which closely corresponds to the Kanamvade of our grant, and possessed probably in those days sufficient importance to give its name to the country or province.¹

A grant, dated 1105 Śaka, by another or the last prince of this dynasty, Singhanadeva, the brother of our Soma, was brought to notice by Dr Fleet in 1875, and published in the *Indian Antiquary*. The composer of it is the same person as that of ours. The first verse in it does not occur in the present grant; but the next eleven stanzas are exactly the same and occupy the whole of our first plate. Then omitting a further eulogy of Soma, which fills the first side of our second plate, the writer proceeds to his next brother who succeeded him. This grant was, it will be seen, issued 9 years after ours.

There is one remarkable circumstance concerning the grant before us which deserves notice. It was at the instance of a woman that king Soma made the grant. In the audience-hall, where were assembled eminent and influential men of his and of other kingdoms, and where persons, proficient in the arts of music and dancing, and men of taste were gathered together, and instrumental music was going on, she sang a beautiful song in a most skilful manner and obtained from the king, who was very much pleased, as a reward, his consent to give the land in charity, and granted it herself on the occasion; but afterwards got the king to do so more formally in the usual manner. She is represented to have been dearer to the king than his own life

¹ All this local information I owe to Mr. Nāṭu.

If so, the question is whether she was his mistress or a married queen. In the first place, the title *Devī* is affixed to her name and she is called *Sāvaladevī*. This title cannot be given to a mistress. In a *Śloka* quoted in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, we have : " Now that she (a certain woman) has been raised to the dignity of a *Devī*, how can she remain in the position of, i. e., be used as, an attendant." Similarly, in the play of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, when the chief queen *Dhārini* is going to give *Mālavikā* in marriage to the king, the *Vidūṣaka* on behalf of the latter, requests *Dhārini* to confer on her the title of *Devī* before she could be accepted, and it is given to her in all formality. The title *Devī*, therefore, is applied to queens only. Again, *Sāvaladevī* was, according to the grant, *Tilottamā* herself in beauty, the very *Sarasvatī* in singing, and *Pārvatī* in *Saubhāgya*. *Saubhāgya* is a word peculiarly used in the case of a woman, and signifies her good fortune in having her husband living and enjoying his kind regards. At the same time, being compared with *Pārvatī* in this respect, *Sāvaladevī* must have been a married queen, since *Pārvatī* was the married wife of *Śiva*. We are also told that "*Sāvaladevī*'s father was *Mailugi*, and her mother *Malhani*; and in consequence of the virtuous deeds of these two meritorious persons, such a jewel as *Sāvaladevī* was born. Her sister was one *Īṣāvaladevī*, the store of beauty and grace, and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was *Bhairava* by name, who had exercised himself on the musical instruments, especially on the *Brahmavīṇā*, and was skilled in beating time" Now, if *Sāvaladevī* had been a mistress, all these her relations would not have been brought in to share her disgrace. And persons in that position are generally illegitimate children; wherefore we should not expect a mention of the father's name in such cases. Besides, the whole matter about her asking the king's consent to give land in charity only as a reward, and making him grant it formally after she had herself done so first, points to her position as a wife.

There is, therefore, no doubt that *Sāvaladevī* was a married queen of *Soma*; and, if so, we have evidence here that in the last quarter of the twelfth century of the Christian era, music and dancing formed a part of the education of *Kṣatriya* girls, and that a married *Kṣatriya* woman could be present at an assembly of emi-

nent men and sing before them without impropriety. The strict Purdah System, which the Maratha princes and chiefs observe at the present day, and which even the most highly educated among them have not the courage to give up, did not exist in those days.

TRANSCRIPT

I.

स्वस्ति । निर्विघ्नं पातु विश्वस्य गोमा स धरणीधरः ।
 धर्मद्रुहा दमयिता देवस्त्यागचतुर्भुजः । अस्ति क्ष-
 त्रियरत्नानामाकरः सागरायते ॥ कुलं कलत्र-
 रीत्याख्यं विख्यातं भुवनत्रये । तदन्ववाये राजाभूत्कृष्णः कृ-
 ष्ण इवापरः । अपि बालस्य चरितमद्भुतं यस्य गीयते । स जोगम-
 महीपालं कालं वैरिमहीभुजां । वीरैकवन्द्यमहसां पात्रं पुत्रमजी-
 जनत् । दाक्षिण्यजलभेस्तस्मात्क्षीरोदादिव चन्द्रमाः । अजायत
 जगत्क्रांतः परमर्द्धिमहीपतिः । तस्मान्मेरोरिवाशेषव्यापि-
 नां तेजसां निधिः । उदितः सुभटादित्यो विज्जणः पृथिवीपतिः ॥
 स च । आचक्राम न कां दिशं न बुभुजे कं देशमुन्मूलयाचके कं
 न्न (न) रिपुं बभार न रिपूनप्याश्रितान्कानिह संचिकये न धनानि कानि
 न ददौ किं दानमजी मल्लैः केन्नायि गुणरत्नरोहणगिरिः श्री-
 विज्जणश्मापतिः । चांडर्धं पांड्यस्त्यजति भजते चोलभूपश्रलत्वं
 भंगं वंगः सरति भरते मालवः कालशंका । भूपश्चान्ये र्जं(जं)यति
 जगतीं विज्जणक्षोणिपाले किन्नो (किं नो) दुर्गं जहति जिहते कां दि-
 शं कांदिशिकाः । सत्त्वांशातिमिरं नुदन्मुकुलयन्सर्वद्विषद्रूभूजां ह-
 स्ताभोजततीर्जगद्बलयन्सर्वं स्वकीत्येजसा सर्वैर्वीधरमूर्द्धपी-
 ठनिहितश्रिपादरम्योदयो राजा सोम उदैत्कलानिधिरितः पू-
 र्णस्फुरन्मंडलः । वार्तां केवरणोच्छ्र(त्स)वेषु निनदद्देरीरवे भेरवे
 दूष्येषु द्रुघणाहतेरपि कृतेस्तेः कालकोलाहलेः यद्यात्रा-
 सु विदद्रुवर्षे रिपवः के देशकोशत्यजः केषां वा न विदीर्य-
 ते स्म हृदयं मूर्च्छानिमीलद्(द्)शा । हेलोहेषितनादभारभरिता
 क्षीणां यदष्टौ दिशो धूताश्वाश्वसुराहतेः परिचलत्कीला
 चदष्टौ नगाः । तत्तादृग्विपुराजबीजदहनप्रस्थानबेलास्थि-
 तिं जानीते यदि शेष एष सुकृती भूभारसर्वसहः । यत्र पितरी-
 ष पातरि यम इव संतरि जनो हि दंडधरे लोकद्वयोचितानां सो-

II.—First side..

ख्यानां पारदृशामृतः (1) यस्योदग्रपराक्रमस्य सत-
तं दिग्जैत्रयाश्रोत्सवे स्वःसिंघोस्तटिनीति नाम घ-
टयत्यन्वर्थमेतद्भजः । स्वर्गस्तुगतुरंगनिष्ठुरसुरप्रक्षे-
पविक्षोभितक्षोणीपीठहठप्रकूटमचिरात्ताम्यत्स्वराशुसु-
ति । यस्य च अप्रतिमसाहसस्य । भूमन्मूर्धसु लीनवत्यसिलता-
धाराधरे दुन्दरे धारासारपुरःसरं विगलिताः कीलालकूल-
कषाः । तासु द्वैपकरोटिनोभिरसुहृत् (स्त्रु) द्यद्भुजारित्रकौभ्राम्य-
न्नेष मदाधमूतनिवहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति । यस्योदारगु-
णोन्नतस्य जरयत्याकाशगंगामदं हर्षं प्रोच्छति देवदंति-
दशनच्छायाकदंबोद्गतेः । केलासस्य भियं पिपतिं जन-
यत्यातंकमिंदोरपि क्षीराब्धेरपि कौतुकं विननुते नित्या-
वदानं यशः । संन्ना(ना)होन्नतवीरवेषसुभगं दृष्ट्वैव यस्याद्भुतं रू-
पं तादृगवक्रविक्रमनिधेरारादमी विद्विषः । रोमांचादिभि-
रागुर्वन्ति दशमी भावैरवस्थामितः स्तुवित्तत्कतमो न वेद त-
दिदं लोकोत्तरं पौरुषं । व्याप्तिं दोर्वलसार्वभौमयशसः
किं भूमहे यन्महेशानोपि स्वयमीश्वरो नहि तनूरष्टो विवेक्तुं
निजाः । लोकाः किं च हसन्ति संप्रति परे चाद्रं मदोत्सेकतः क्षी-
रेवेन समं च किं च कलहायन्ते षडप्यब्धयः । यस्यासिधारं धा-
रां च वीरे वितरणेथ वा । कृतकृत्या न के जाताः प्राप्य प्रत्यर्थिनो-
र्थिनः । गगनादपि निःसंगमुदधेरपि दुर्गमं । यत्साहसमनोप-
न्यादुष्टवत उदासते । यशःप्रशस्तयो यस्य याः सतां चित्तभि-
त्तिषु । न मांति मांति ताः कुत्र दिक्षु वा गगनेथवा । इमं तमिति
किं भूमः सर्वमाक्रामति स्म यः । निधिः स तेजसां देवः कं देशं
नाश्रुते करेः । वर्तमानेषु का वार्ता यस्मिन्विश्वस्य गोमरि । ता-
दृशः क्षत्रियो लोके न जातो न जनिष्यते । तस्य गीतकला-

II.—Second Side.

मौढिचमत्कारहृतात्मनः । राज्ञः सावळ-
देवीति प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियाभवत् । गंगाप्रवाह-
व्यस्याः शारीरामृतमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं त्रिमार्गशुद्धमद्वादि सर्व-
पापक्षयावहं । रूपे तिलोत्तमा सेव सेव गीते सरस्वती ।
सोभान्ये पावती सेव त्यागे कल्पलता स्वयं । यत्पिता मे-

लुगिर्नाम यन्माता मल्हणीत्यभूत् । तद्योगुणवतोः पुण्यै-
 रीदृघनमजायत । यस्या वाच(व!)लदेवीति रूपसोभाग्ययो-
 निर्धिः भगिनी गीतनृत्यादिकलाकौशलशालिनी । यद्वा-
 ता भैरवो नाम यंत्रे गात्रे कृतश्रमः । विशेषाङ्गस्यवीणायां
 तालमानावचक्षणः । सा कदाचिदतिप्रौढगायनगाय-
 नी वांशिकवैष्णिकमार्दलिकपाणविकादिगांधर्वसं-
 प्रदायनिर्भरे महाऽस्थाने भरतादिकलाकुशलेषु भावकर-
 शिकरंजकेषु स्वमंडलपरमंडलमधानवु(प)रुषेषूपविष्टेषु आ-
 हितस्थानप्राप्तिरमंद्रव्यवस्थस्य प्रकटितस्फुरितकौपता-
 दिसप्तविधगमकस्य स्फुटललितकोमलपदस्यासंकेत-
 तनियुक्तस्य गाणगलपाशाभिधानस्य ध्रोष्(ध्व!)ड(डु!)स्य गानात्प-
 रितुष्टस्य नलनहुषभरतभगीरथप्रभृतीनां पुराणपुण्य-
 क्षत्रियान्वीरवितरणाद्भिर्गुणैः प्रगुणैरतिशयानस्य म-
 हाराजस्य पारितोषिकलब्धया परस(म)यानुमत्या प्रशस्ते दे-
 शे काले स्वयं दत्तमपि षण्णवत्यधिकसहस्रतमे शके ज-
 यसंवत्सरे कार्तिकशुक्लद्वादश्यां बृहस्पतिवारारवती-
 नक्षत्रव्यतीपातयोगववकरणयुक्ताया सर्वाविया-
 निधिभ्यः सदाचारपरिपूतेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्चतुर्द-
 शब्राह्मणेभ्य कर्णवडेदेशांतर्गतवट्टचिनामधेये

III

ग्रामे माडदंडेन चत्वारि चत्वारि निवर्तनानि
 देवदेवाय च श्रीसोमनाथाय नित्यपूजार्निमत्तं
 निवर्तनमेकं कलमक्षेत्रं तावती च पुष्पवाटिकां
 राज्ञा राजकीयैरप्यनंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयं(प्रक्षेपणीयं)सर्व्वनमस्यं कृत्वा
 तेनैव महाराजाधिराजेन परमभक्तिश्रद्धापूतमनसा पुन-
 र्ध्वारापूर्व्वकं दापितवती । अस्य च धर्मस्य रक्षणे फलमिति
 ह स्माहुः प्रांचस्तपोमहिमसाक्षात्कृतधर्मगतयो महर्ष-
 यः । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजाभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । धनं धान्यं हिरण्यं च रत्नानि
 विविधानि च । दानान्यन्यानि राजेन्द्र ददाति वसुधां ददत् । अ-
 भिष्टोमादिभिर्षङ्गेयै यजति सद्दक्षिणेः । प्राप्रवांति न
 तत्पुण्यं भूमिदानाद्यदाप्यते । विपचंये च त एव विपरीत-

कलमाश्रसिषुः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां षष्ठिं
 नव(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते किमिः । परदत्तां तु यो मू-
 मिमुपहिंसेत्कदाचन । स बद्धो वारुणेः पासेः(शेः)क्षिप्यते पूयशोणिते ।
 अत एव च तत्र भवद्विभ्यां(व्यां)सपरास(श)रप्रभृतिभिः साक्षात्कृतस-
 कलधम्मंतत्त्वैस्सैकाल्यदर्शिभिः महर्षिभिः प्रणीतासु सतीष्वपि
 स्मृतिषु साक्षादेव श्रुतिषु चोच्चावचासु धर्मोपदेशाय जागरू-
 कासु पुनरपरितोषानि(स्त्रि)जसदाचारोदाहरणदर्शनेन सर्वासाम-
 व्यमूषां मानुषीणां मज्जानामबोधधतमसापनिनीपया लोकस्य
 भाग्येनावतीर्णः स्वयमेव भगवान्भारयणः श्रीरामनामधेयः
 स्वनिर्मितस्यापि धर्मस्य कलांतरेऽन्यथाभावशंकातंकतरलितो
 विनयोदारमधुरया संक्षिप्तसुभगया सरस्वत्या भविष्यतः क्षत्रियश्रो-
 त्रियान्ताजलिर्वधमेवमभ्यर्थयाचक्रे ॥ सामान्योयं धम्मसेतुनृपा-
 णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सव्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्मू-
 योमूयो याचते रामचं(चं)द्भिः । शक्तिव्युपत्तिसंपन्न(न्)विद्वच्छ्रीपादसे-
 विना । रचितादि-

न्यदेवेन सेयं शासनपद्धतिः । कृतिरियं त्रिभुवन । व(वि)द्याचक्रवर्त्तिनः श्रीम-
 दादित्यदेवस्यः । मंगलमहाश्री ॥

TRANSLATION

Welfare! May the God, the protector of the Universe, the support of the earth, and the chastiser of the enemies of virtue, who has four hands for giving, protect safely! There is a family known by the name of Kalacuri, famous in the three worlds, which is as it were the ocean being a repository of jewels in the shape of [excellent] Ksatriyas. In that race flourished a king [named] Krsna, who was as it were another Krsna, and whose wonderful deeds, done when he was but a child, are sung. He gave birth to a son, king Jogama, who was death to inimical princes, [and] the receptacle of prowess which is admired by heroes alone. From him who was the ocean of civility, was born king Paramarddi[n], charming to the world, as the moon is from the ocean of milk. From him, as from the Meru, rose king Vijjana, the sun in the shape of a good soldier and (like the sun)

the store of glory which pervaded everything. What quarter did king Vijjāṇa, the mountain on which jewels in the shape of virtues grew, not overrun? What country did he not enjoy (rule over), what enemy did he not extirpate? What enemies, who had sought an asylum with him, did he not protect? What kind of wealth did he not accumulate? What gift did he not give, what sacrifices did he not perform? When king Vijjāṇa was conquering the world, the Pāṇḍya gave up his fierceness, the Cola king took to his heels, the Vanga fled away, the Mālava suspected him to be Death himself; and what stronghold did other kings not leave, and what quarter did the cowards not fly to? From him rose king Soma the moon, in the full state of a Sovereign like the latter when full and bright, who was the abode of all arts as the latter is of the digits, dispelling the darkness of all quarters, closing [folding] the lotuses in the shape of the hands of all inimical princes, whitening the whole world by the lustre of his fame, with his rise made charming on account of his graceful feet being placed on the stool-like heads of all kings, as that of the moon is rendered charming by the rays falling on the tops of all mountains.¹ What enemies did not bolt away, abandoning their country and treasure during his marches, by the noises like those on the occasion of universal destruction, made by the striking of maces in his tents? Whose hearts did not break (through fear) with their eyes closed in a swoon? What talk then can there be as regards the dreadful noise of the drums in the festivals of fight? The blessed Śeṣa alone, who bears the whole burden of the earth, knows, if at all, the condition of things on the occasion of those marches of his for burning the very seed of kings who were his enemies, when the eight quarters, resonant with the noise of the playful neighing of the horses were shattered, and the eight mountains were dislocated from their rivets by the tramping of the hoops of horses. While he is protecting the people like a father and governing them like Yama the chastiser (the god of justice), they have experienced all the happiness of the two worlds. In his joyous expeditions for the conquest of the quarters, full of great valour as he is, the dust, raised forcibly

¹ सेम, उर्वीधर and the rest have two senses, one fitting with the moon and the other with king Soma,

from the surface of the earth, agitated by the violent stamping of the hoops of the tall bounding horses, which bedims the lustre of the sun, always makes the name Tatini (having banks, i.e., a river) of the celestial river literally true. Of unparalleled daring as he is, when the irresistible cloud, in the shape of his sword, rested on the summits of mountains in the shape of heads of kings, showers in the shape of the drops [of blood] from the edge of the sword poured down first and then flowed rivers of blood; in those rivers the maddened crowd of beings rambles in boats made of the skulls of elephants by [using as] oars the arms of his enemies which were chopped off, and has not yet ceased. Exalted as he is by his sublime virtues, his ever pure (white) fame humbles the pride of the heavenly Ganges, mars the beauty of the colour intensified manifold of the tusk of the elephant of the gods, inspires the Kailāsa with fear, alarms even the moon, and excites the admiration even of the milky ocean. Seeing from a distance that wonderful form of the store of prowess, graceful on account of the dignified soldierly costume [consisting of] a coat of armour, the enemies, like women, attain to the tenth condition by means of the effects, horripilation and others¹; who, therefore, does not know that extraordinary manliness of his? What shall we say of the omnipresence of his fame as supreme (over all) in the prowess of his arm, when even Śiva himself is not (in consequence of the excessive white light of the fame overspreading all equally) able to distinguish his eight bodies, and the worlds besides through excess of pride [on account of their being illuminated by the white light of his fame] laugh down to scorn the light of the moon, while all the six oceans compete (quarrel) with the milky ocean? What enemy or beggar, having come in contact with the edge of his sword or of the stream of water (poured by the hand) in warlike or alms-giving deeds, did not attain his end? Those who have seen his daring, which is more desperate than the sky is unentangled,² and more unapproachable than the sea, become despondent on account of

1 There are eight kinds of effects produced in a woman when under the influence of love: sweat, stupor, horripilation, &c. These are alluded to by the expression "horripilation and others"; and there are ten conditions into which a lover is placed successively when his love is not requited, and of which the tenth is death.

2 A play upon the word निःसङ्ग.

its matchlessness. What can hold the announcements of his deeds? Can the quarters of the sky [do it], when they cannot all be accommodated on the walls [in the shape of] the minds of the good? How can we say "here is he," since he pervades all (space)? What place is there which that lord, the store of glory, does not reach by his hands or his taxes? While he is the protector of the Universe, (one can say that) such a Ksatriya was never born or will be born, and what talk then can there be about such a one being among the existing ones? As the heart of the king was charmed by the beautiful performances of skill in the art of singing, one Sāvaladevi (Queen Sāvala) was dearer to him than his life. Like the stream of the Ganges, the nectar (-like complexion) of her body was bright, pure in the three ways, delightful, and destructive of all sins. In beauty she was Tilottamā herself, in singing she was the very Sarasvatī, in good luck (the regards of her husband) she was Pārvatī herself, and in bounty the celestial creeper itself. Her father was Mailugi by name and her mother was one Malhani; in consequence of the virtuous deeds of those two meritorious (persons), such a jewel was born. Her sister was one Bāvaladevi, the store of beauty and grace (or good luck), and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the instruments and the body, especially in the Brahmavīṇā, and was skilled in the beating of time. On one occasion while she was singing skilfully in the great audience-hall, in which the customary music of the flute, the lute, the drum, and the Panava was going on, and in which were sitting eminent men of that and other kingdoms, who were proficient in the arts of Bharata and others and appreciated the principal and subordinate sentiments and could entertain others, she sang a Dhromvattha, called Gānagalapāśa, without previous arrangement (i. e. *ex tempore*), in a manner to have a high or low pitch according to the note used as a base, to bring out the seven kinds of Gamaka, such as throbbing and tremor, and to render the graceful and soft words distinct; and obtained from the great king who was pleased,—the great king who surpassed, by the pre-eminent virtues of bravery and bounty, the old virtuous Ksatriyas, Nala, Nahusa, Bharata, Bhagiratha and others—his consent [to

give land in charity] as a reward, and herself gave at an auspicious place and time, and (afterwards) caused that same sovereign lord of great kings, whose mind was purified by great faith and devotion, to give by pouring water on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika, the day being Thursday, the constellation Revati, the Yoga Vyatipāta, and the Karana, Bava, in Śaka one thousand and ninety-six, to fourteen Brahmans of different Gotras, who were stores of all lores and purified by their righteous conduct, four Nivartanas of land, each measured by the Māda pole in a village of the name of Battaci, in the country of Kanarivade, and to Śrī-Somanātha, the god of gods, a field of rice measuring one Nivartana and a flower garden of the same area for everyday worship; the grant not to be touched by the finger even, by the king or the officers of the king, and to be respected by all. The ancients, who by the force of their holy austerities directly perceived the results of good deeds, thus speak of the fruit of the maintenance of such a charity: "The earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others; the fruit accrues to him to whom the earth belongs and at that time when it so belongs. O best of kings, by giving land one gives money, grain, gold, various kinds of jewels, and other gifts. Those who perform the Agnistoma and other sacrifices giving Dakṣinā, do not acquire that merit that is attained by giving land." When it is otherwise, they have laid down the opposite fruit: "He who resumes the land given by him or by others becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. He who ever transgresses the [grant of] land given by others, is bound by the chains of Varuna and thrown into pus and blood." Hence the blessed Nārāyaṇa himself of the name of Rāma, who became incarnate through the good fortune of the world, to remove the darkness of ignorance of these human beings by setting them an example in his own virtuous conduct, not being satisfied though there were Smṛtis composed by the revered great Ṛsis, Vyāsa, Parāśara, &c., who had a direct perception of the essence of all righteous behaviour and saw [the occurrences of] the three times (past, present, and future), and though there were the very Śrutis themselves, great and small, ever watchful to give instruction in righteousness, thus solicited future Kṣatriya sages in words exceedingly sweet through humility, brief and graceful, being disquieted by the fear of the [path

of] duty laid down by himself becoming corrupt in the course of time : "' This is a bridge of righteousness common to all kings ; you should, therefore, protect it from time to time,' Ramacandra thus entreats all these future kings again and again." This charter has been composed by Ādityadeva, who waits at the feet of the learned Śrīpāda, possessing power (genius) and culture. This is the work of the prosperous Ādityadeva, the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in [matters of] Learning. Auspicious glory !

A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM CENTRAL JAVA.

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TRANSCRIPT.

१. नमो भगवत्यै आर्यतारायै ॥ या तारयत्यमितदुःसप्तवाब्धिमग्नं लोकं विलोक्य विधि-
वस्त्रिविधैरु-
२. पायैः । सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिसा[१]रं तारा दिशत्वभिमतं जगदेकतारा ॥ आवर्ज्यं
महारजं - - -
३. पणं पणंकरणं । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ गुर्वाज्ञया कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी
४. कृतापि तद्भवनम् । विनयमहायानविदां भवनं चाप्यार्यभिक्षुणाम् ॥ पङ्कुरतवानतीरिष-
५. नामाभिरादेशास्तभी राज्ञः । ताराभवनं कारितमिदमपि चाप्यार्यभिक्षुणां ॥ राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा-
६. ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवर्मन्तनुजस्थ । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥ शकनृप-
कालाती-
७. वर्षशतेः सप्तमिर्महारजः अकरोद्गुरुभूजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ ग्रामः कोलग
(श?) नामा
८. दत्तः संघाय साक्षिणः कृत्वा । पङ्कुरतवानतीरिषदेशः पक्षान्महापुरुषान् । भूद-
९. क्षिणेयमतुला दत्ता संघाय राजसिंहेन । शैलेन्द्रवर्मभूपेर्गुप्तिरपालयार्थे सन्तत्या ॥
१०. सुण्णपङ्कुरादिभिः सत्तवानकादिभिः । सुण्णतीरिषादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधुभिः ॥
अपि च ॥
११. सर्वानेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः । सामान्योयन्वर्मसेतुन-
१२. राणां काले काले पालनियो भवद्भिः ॥ अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जातार्थवि-
भागार्क(वि)-
१३. ज्ञाः भवन्तु सर्वे विभवोपपन्ना जना जिनामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ करि(लि')यानपणं-
करणः श्री-
१४. मानमियाचतेन भाविनृपान् । भूयो भूयो विधिबद्धिहारपरिपालनार्थमिति ।

TRANSLATION.

Salutations to the blessed, the noble Tārā! May Tārā the
only Saviour¹ of the Universe, who, seeing men sunk in the sea

1 This may also be translated as "the only star of the Universe."

of life which is full of immeasurable misery, formally delivers them by [resorting to] the three¹ means, give you the desired essence of the glory of the world of the Lord of the gods, and of men. Having prevailed upon the great King Panamkarana by... ... the Preceptor of King Śailendra² caused a splendid temple of Tārā to be constructed. At the command of the Preceptor, the grateful ones made [an image of] the goddess Tārā and constructed that temple and also a house (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests (Bhiksus) who knew the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) of discipline. By the king's mandate issued in the names of Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisa,³ the temple of Tārā was caused to be constructed and also this (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests. The meritorious Preceptor of King Śailendra constructed the temple of Tārā during the prosperous reign of the king, the son of Śailendravarma. The great King Panamkarana built the temple of Tārā to do honour to the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed. A village of the name of Kolaga(śa?) has been granted to the congregation, the eminent men and leaders⁴ of the

1 The Upāyas or means are three. (See Dharmasaṅgraha, Max Muller's Ed., CXI.)

2 Śailendra, literally means "the lord of mountains," and the phrase, Śailendrarāja may be translated as "king of the mountainous country." But it must be taken here as the name of a king. He is called Śailendravarma in the sixth line, of which name the latter part varma is the usual affix of the names of Kṣatriyas, and his son is represented as reigning at the time when the temple was built. In the ninth line the plural of the name with the word bhūpa added to it is used, and the phrase literally means "the kings Śailendravarmanas." This could be taken as the plural honorific; but at the time when the Inscription was cut, Śailendra was not on the throne, but his son; wherefore the plural is to be understood in the sense of "the descendants of Śailendra." It will be seen in the Remarks that I identify Śailendra with the prince Śela Prawat, whose name occurs in one of the lists given by Sir Stamford Raffles.

3 These are un-Sanskrit names, and must be the titles in old Javanese of the leading men or officers of districts and villages resembling the hereditary officers of India. They are spoken of as Deśādhyakṣas or "leaders of the country" below.

4 See the above note.

country, Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisa being called to witness. This incomparable Daksinā (gratuity) in the shape of land has been granted to the congregation by the lion-like king. It should be continued by the kings [of the race of] Śailendravarma to successive bodies of the honoured ones (Bhiksus), and by the wise¹ Pankura and others, the good Tavāna and others, the wise Tirisa and others, and the virtuous foot-soldiers. Moreover, the lion-like king again and again begs of all future kings, that this bridge in the shape of charities which is common to all men should be preserved by them from time to time. By the religious merit resulting from this monastery, may all people who follow the teaching of the Jinas derive a knowledge of the divisions of things produced by the chain² of causes, and attain prosperity! The prosperous Kaliyāna³ Panamkarana begs again and again of future kings to preserve the monastery in the proper manner.

REMARKS.

I place before the Society to-day a photograph of a Sanskrit Inscription found in Central Java, together with a modern Nāgarī transcript and an English translation. The photograph was sent to me from Batavia by Mr. Baumgarten, who takes great interest in Oriental studies. The Inscription is cut on a slab of stone, and the length is 67 centimetres and breadth 46. The characters resemble those of North-Indian Inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries, being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III dated 730 Śaka or 808 A. D., the grant of Vākpatirāja of the year 1031 Samvat corres-

1 The word which I read *Supṇa* must be a word expressive of praise as *Sat* is, which is used in connection with *Tavāna*, and *Sādhu* which is applied to the *Pattis*. It seems to be the Prakrit of the Sanskrit *Suṣṇa*.

2 Twelve things are mentioned in the Buddhistic treatises, each subsequent one of which is produced from each preceding, and this constitutes the chain of causes and effects, upon which depends the worldly existence of man. When this chain is known and efforts are made to destroy the first link, a man is free from worldly existence and attains *Nirvāṇa*. The technical term by which this causation is known is *Pratītyotpāda* (*Dharmasaṃgraha*, Max Müller's Ed., pp. 9 and 43).

3 This is another name of the king. See the "Remarks,"

ponding to 975 A. D., and the Inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand, dated 1049 Samvat or 993 A. D.; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an Inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar, which I translated for Mr. Broadly in 1872,¹ and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.

The Inscription is in verse. The first stanza is in the Vasaṇṭa-tilakā metre, one in the middle is a Samānikā without the last or eighth syllable, two about the end are in the Śālinī and Upendravajrā metres; and the remaining eight are Āryās. That in the Śālinī metre is the same as the one which occurs in some North-Indian and also South-Indian copperplate grants; only, the first half of the Indian Śloka is here made the second half, and we have Rājasimhah instead of Rāmabhadrah.

The Inscription opens with salutations to the Buddhistic goddess Tārā; and in the first stanza she is praised and her blessings invoked. Then we are told that the Guru or Preceptor of King Śailendra, having established his influence over the great King Panamkarana, caused a splendid temple of Tārā to be constructed in the reign of the son of King Śailendravarman, Panamkarna built the temple of Tārā out of respect for the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna school referred to by the pronoun "this", were erected after a royal mandate had been issued in the names of the Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisa. A village of the name of Kolaga or Kolaśa was granted as Dakṣiṇā to the congregation of the priests, and the same Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisa, who are here spoken of as Deśādhyakṣas or the leading men, or rather the constituted authorities of the country, are called to witness the grant. Then follows the charge usual in Indian charters of this nature to future kings to continue the grant and preserve the monastery.

Of these two buildings, the monastery is that which is called

¹ Published in Vol. XLI, JASB, Part I, p. 271 [and printed later in this Volume].

Chandi Kali Sari by Sir Stamford Raffles and described by him in his *History of Java* (Second Ed., Vol. II, p. 25). "The external appearance of this edifice is," he says, "really very striking and beautiful. The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience, and skill. Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellency scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building." Again.—"On entering the building, the mind of every one must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or dedicated to, mere religious purposes. The arrangement is entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or *rājā*." But we now see from the Inscription that it was not the residence of a great Hindu *rājā*, but the residence of the priests of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school.

The temple of Tārā is described by Sir Stamford under the name of Chandi Kali Bening (Vol. II, p. 27). "This ruin," he says, "is of the same general form and appearance as the larger temples at Chandi Sewa and Zoro Jongran, but on a closer examination, is found to be superior to the whole, in the delicate and minute correctness of execution of all its decorative parts." I submit to the Society the photographs of these two buildings which Mr. Baumgarten has kindly sent to me.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the relations between the prince Śailendra whose Preceptor caused the temple to be constructed, and his son during whose reign it was constructed, on the one hand, and Panamkarana, the monarch, who constructed it and made the grant of land, on the other. Śailendra and his son are spoken of as *Rājās* merely, while Panamkarana is styled *Mahārāja*, wherefore it is possible that he was a paramount sovereign whose feudatories were Śailendra and his son. But taking all things into consideration, I think it best to take Panamkarana himself as the son of Śailendra, though I should have expected his name in the clause "during the prosperous reign of the son of Śailendra," which occurs in the Inscription.

In one of the lists of the Hindu sovereigns of Java given by Sir Stamford Raffles (p. 87, Vol. II), on the authority of Manus-

cripts found in the eastern parts of Java, the name Śēla Prawat occurs. Prawat is evidently the Sanskrit Parvata or "mountain," which means the same thing as Śaila. This Śaila appears to be the same monarch as the Śailendra of our Inscription. The date of his accession given in the MSS is 756 of the Javanese or Śaka era, while, according to our Inscription, he must have ceased to reign before 700 Śaka in which year his son was on the throne. But this small discrepancy must be regarded as confirming the identification rather than militating against it; for a mere tradition such as that recorded in the Manuscripts, cannot be expected to be perfectly accurate. Or, it is possible that the Inscription gives only the hundreds of the number representing the date, omitting the tens and units.

The name of the next king given in the list is Kandiawan or Jaya Langkara. Kandiawan appears to be the same as Kaliyāna, which, in the last stanza of the Inscription, is prefixed to the name Panamkarana. Of the second name the first part is a mere horonic prefix, and Langkara is not unlikely a corruption of namkara which occurs in the name Panamkarana, the first syllable Pa being dropped, and nam changed to Lang as it does even in our Indian languages. As in the charters issued by Indian princes the royal mandate is addressed to the Rāstrapatis, Grāmapatis, Āyuktaka, Niyuktaka, &c., that is, to persons invested with authority over villages and districts like the hereditary officers of modern times, so is it in the charter before us. But these district and village authorities are here called Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisat. These are not Sanskrit words, and must be old Javanese. The first of these seems to have been preselected in the modern Pangoran, a title applied to the sons and daughters of sovereigns, according to Raffles (Vol. I, p. 298). This similarity in the form of the charters points to a similarity of polity in the two countries.

According to the united testimony of all who have written about the island, Central Java is full of statues, Inscriptions, and ruins of buildings, all of them vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island. The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest building, the Boro Buddor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik, Ajanta, and Kenari Caves,

that in the opinion of the late Dr. Fergusson, it points to an identity of workmanship and workmen. Most of the Inscriptions are in the Kawi or old Javanese dialect, while there are a few which are in Sanskrit like the one before us. It is very much to be regretted that many of these have not yet been published, as they are sure to throw considerable light on the obscure history of the island, as our Inscriptions have done on the early history of India.

In the Fourth Volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, (p. 356), two small Sanskrit Inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters in which are unmistakably South-Indian; while our Inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī characters of the North, especially of Maṣadha or Bihar, thus showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island. The Inscriptions from Cambodia recently published by M. Barth are all of them in the South Indian characters, and in all, one or other of the Brahmanic gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu, &c., is invoked. Cambodia was thus colonized by Hindus from Southern India, and does not seem to have had any considerable Buddhistic population.

The Hindu settlements of Java were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India; and Indians went to Java and settled there from time to time. The earliest notice of the Hindu civilization of the island which is unquestionably historical is that by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian, who in 413 A. D. returned to China from Ceylon by sea, and, on the way, passed five months in a country which he reached at the end of more than ninety days after leaving Ceylon, and which he calls Yepoti. Yepoti is the Chinese equivalent of Yavadvīpa, the Sanskrit name of Java. As the island of Sumatra also was by the Mahomedans called "lesser Java," Dr. Fergusson thinks that that was the island visited by Fa-Hian. But I agree with Mr. Beal in thinking that in all likelihood it was Java itself.

In the Yavadvīpa, Fa-Hian tells us "heretics and Brahmins flourished, but the law of Buddha is not much known." If these Brahmins and heretics established a

colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century, and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the Inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later. And our Inscription, as well as the remains of Buddhistic temples and monasteries, show that in the eighth century and even before, there was a large population of the followers of Śākyamuni; but since Fa-Hian says that the law of Buddha was not much known when he visited the island, the Buddhists must have emigrated in large numbers later on. In an article by the late Dr. Burnell published in *The Academy* in 1876, that scholar states his view that there was "a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A. D., and these took with them a Nāgarī alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character." We now see the existence of this Nāgarī alphabet in the island in the latter part of the eighth century of the Christian era, and also of a large Buddhistic population.

In the Sanskrit literature of India, however, so far as it has hitherto been examined, Java is very rarely noticed. The "Yavadvīpa adorned with the seven kingdoms," and Suvarṇadvīpa which has been identified with Sumatra have been mentioned in the *Kiskindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana*; and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarṇadvīpa and other islands of the name of Nārikela or the coconut island, Karpūra or the camphor island, and Kātāha. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is professedly a translation of or compilation based on *Guṇādhyā's* *Brhatkathā*, a work which must have been composed in the first or second century of the Christian era. If, therefore, this work, which has not yet been recovered, contained a mention of Suvarṇadvīpa and some of the other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, the connection of India with those islands must have begun very early. And this is confirmed by Fa-Hian's statement in the beginning of the fifth century that Brahmins and heretics flourished in the island.

The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they

call *Ādi Śaka* or the original *Śaka*, the founder of the *Śaka* era, which is used in Java. Higher antiquity is not claimed for it. It is, of course, difficult to say what the precise meaning of the tradition is; but what appears to me to be, in all likelihood, the true sense is that some princes or chiefs of the *Śaka* or *Scythian* race,—which, we know, had established itself in India about the beginning of the *Śaka* era, and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and Inscriptions of the Satrap dynasty of Ujjayini and Kathiawar—established the first Indian Colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. The same enterprising spirit which brought the *Śakas* into India and led to the establishment of a *Śaka* monarchy in Sind, Rajputana, and other provinces, must have carried them further to the east.

Hinduism did not possess that tenacity in Java which it has shown in India. From about the first century before the Christian era to about the beginning of the fourth, many of the Indian provinces were held by foreigners of the *Yavana* (Bactrian Greek), *Śaka*, and *Palhava* races who had settled in the country. They, however, did not communicate any new religion to the Hindus, but, on the other hand, adopted either Buddhism or Brahmanism from the Hindus themselves. After the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, Brahmanism became more powerful than Buddhism, and flourished till the beginning of the 12th century, by which time the latter had died a natural death. But now a new and serious danger threatened the existence of Hinduism. The Mahomedans, who show no toleration for other religions, established an empire in India. But though they held the country for five centuries and forcibly converted Hindus to Mahomedanism and pulled down their temples, from time to time, when the religious zeal of their princes and chiefs was excited, the only tangible effect of their domination was to add a Mahomedan fraction to the population of India. Mahomedanism did exert an indirect influence over some of the Hindu religious sects, especially by communicating to them a strictly monotheistic tendency; but it was slight. In Java, on the other hand, Mahomedans did not appear as conquerors but as missionaries; but in a short course of time they

succeeded in converting the whole island to their faith, and Hinduism was compelled to take refuge in the small island of Bali, where it flourishes at the present day. But with the destruction of Hinduism, the blood of the foreign colonists, who "had persevered for nearly nine centuries in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class, had become," according to Dr. Fergusson, "diluted, their race impure, and their energy effete."

And, gentlemen, you will, I hope, allow me, in conclusion, to make a reflection or two which it is almost impossible for an English-knowing Hindu in the present condition of his country to avoid, when engaged on such a subject as this. If from the first century of the Śaka era to about the twelfth, Brahmins and other Hindu castes set at naught the prohibition of the Śāstras against crossing the sea, and went on voyages lasting for ninety days and more, there is no reason why they should not do so in this nineteenth century of that era, and go to Europe and America. The amount of energy and enterprise that the Hindus of those days displayed, in thus keeping a constant intercourse with Cambodia and the islands of the Archipelago, establishing colonies there, and imparting to the native Polynesians their own civilization, ought, in the midst of a great deal in our present condition that is very discouraging, to fill us with hope as to the innate capacities of our race. If, according to the interpretation I have ventured to put on the Javanese tradition, it was in consequence of their contact with the Śakas that the Indian Āryas first showed those qualities, we have by our side at the present day the sturdy Anglo-Saxon to spur us on. Let us accept his guidance and leadership with a willing heart, and move on in all the fields of human activity, not excepting the one the achievements of our ancestors in which we have been considering.

**A NOTE ON THREE BRICKS* WITH IMPRESSIONS OF
FIGURES AND LETTERS ON THESE FOUND
AT TAGOUNG, SOME 200 MILES ABOVE
MANDALAY IN BURMA.**

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XX, 1902, pp. 106ff.]

(Communicated to the Society in July 1898.)

Nos. I and II of these bricks contain three figures, the middle one sitting in an attitude of meditation with the right hand touching the earth, and the two at the sides standing. They are enclosed in shrines, and the vacant space is filled with representations of Stūpas. The sitting figure represents Buddha and the two at the sides probably represent his chief disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalāyana speaking or lecturing. The third brick contains only one figure in a shrine which represents Buddha sitting in a meditative attitude as in the others, and the vacant space at the sides and above is filled with Stūpas, the two at the sides being much larger than those above or in the other two bricks. Below the figure there are letters in relief, which, together with the figures, were impressed on the clay by means of a matrix. They form the well-known Buddhist formula in the Āryā metre. The following are transcripts :—

No. I.

ये धर्मा हेतुपह्वा तेसां हेतुं तथागतो [बो] (च)

तेसां च यो निरोधो एवंवादी महा[स](म)णो

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, read respectively ध, सं, तुं, सा, बो. The letters which are indistinct are enclosed within rectangular brackets. The letters which have dropped out or are obliterated are enclosed within circular brackets

No. II.

[ये] धर्मा हेतुपह्वा तेसां हेतुं तथागतो बोच

तेसां च यो [निरो] धो एवं वादी मह[स](म)णां

Read धं, सं, तुं, सां, बो, वं, डी, हा, णो respectively for the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

* Forwarded by Lieut. A. Willock.

No. III.

[ये] धर्मा हेतुपद्मवा तेषां हेतुं त [था]

गतो [वो] च तेषां च यो निरोधो

[एववादी] महा [सम]र्ण

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c., read respectively धं, हे, सां, तुं
सां, धो, व, णो.

This formula occurs in Buddhistic sculptures discovered in India, and it was often impressed on clay by means of a seal as in the numerous specimens found in one of the Keneri caves (JBBRAS, VI, 157, Pl. VII, a, b, c, d), at Valabhi (Ind Ant., I, 130 ; JBBRAS, XI, 334) and other places in Northern India. It however mostly occurs in its Sanskrit form, and is as follows :—

ये धर्मा हेतुपद्मवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत्

तेषां च यो निरोध एववादी महाश्रमणः ॥

As impressed on the bricks under notice, it is in the Pali language Here we have तेषा before हेतु, and वोच, the Pali form of the Sanskrit अवोचत्, for हि and अवदत् The formula gives succinctly Buddha's method of Salvation. He traced the misery of worldly existence to certain causes and pointed out the way of counteracting or destroying those causes and thus attaining to bliss. The formula may be thus translated :—

“The Tathāgata explained the cause of those matters which spring from a cause and [the mode of] its destruction. This was what the Great Ascetic taught.”

The form of the letters on the bricks resembles that which prevailed in Northern India in the eighth century of the Christian Era. The bricks therefore are not older than that century.

It deserves to be noticed that one of the clay impressions found at Keneri and given by Mr. West in his article resembles the figure and the Stūpa ornaments in the bricks before us, and the formula also is in Pali, except that we have ण for ण in the fourth word. There is also the verb वच for वोच instead of the ह्यवदत् of the Sanskrit form. This is almost a unique instance of

the occurrence of the Pali formula in Indian monuments. That we find it mostly in Sanskrit is to be accounted for by the fact that it was composed or came into general use about or after the time when the Pali ceased to be the sacred language of Indian Buddhism. In the bricks under notice it occurs in the Pali form because the language of Buddhistic Literature in Burma has always been Pali.

ON DR. HOERNLE'S VERSION OF A NASIK INSCRIPTION AND THE GATHĀ DIALECT

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, 1883, pp. 139ff.]

In the middle of 1874 I spent about six weeks in deciphering and translating the Inscriptions in the caves at Nasik, and prepared a paper and submitted it to the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in that year. The paper has been published in the Transactions of the Congress.¹ The reading of those Inscriptions was a work of great difficulty, since some of them are in the Pali or Prakrit dialect, and others contain a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. The letters, too, in several of them, are faintly cut. I could derive very little assistance from the labours of my predecessor in the field, for, except the one which is almost entirely in Sanskrit, the Inscriptions were misread by him. I could, therefore, never look upon my work as final, and was aware of its imperfections. Besides, the paper was printed in London, and as I could look over one proof only, there are a good many misprints. I have, therefore, long been thinking of revising the paper, and publishing it separately; but no opportunity has yet presented itself, and I now learn that Dr. Buhler has re-read and re-translated the Inscriptions. What I have been able to do is to re-write my remarks on the relations between the Andhrabhrtyas and the Satrap kings; and these I have embodied in a paper I have written for the Bombay Gazetteer.² Since the time my translations appeared in the Transactions of the Congress, I have found one or two better readings proposed by other scholars. Similarly there is one proposed by Dr. Hoernle in his paper, published in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, pp. 27ff, to which I should attach great weight if I were to revise the paper. But that scholar has at the same time found fault with my translation of the Inscription, which is the subject of his paper, and which is one of the easiest in the series. He thinks I have

1 It has been included in Volume I of this Edition.—N. B. U.

2 This 'paper' is the "Early History of the Deccan" included in this Volume earlier.—N. B. U.

mistranslated it. I desire therefore to discuss the matter here, so that scholars at large may be able to judge whether Dr. Hoernle has mistranslated it or I.

The Inscription is No. 17 of Mr. West's Series. Dr. Hoernle thinks he has discovered an important fact, viz., that the Inscription is in the Gāthā dialect. This, in my opinion, does not come to more than saying that it contains a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit, or that there are some ungrammatical forms in the Inscription. For I believe the Gāthā dialect does not deserve to be called a dialect with distinctive characteristics. My views on it as well as on the language of these Inscriptions, both of which I also consider alike, I have given in the Wilson [Philological] Lectures which I delivered in 1877, but which, owing to several unfortunate circumstances, I have not yet been able to publish.¹ I quote them here from my manuscript :—

“ In many other ancient monuments existing in the country, we often find Inscriptions which are principally in two languages, the Sanskrit and the Pali or Prakrit, understanding by this last term a dialect derived from Sanskrit. Those in the latter (Pali) are mostly connected with Buddhism, though some Buddhistic Inscriptions also—such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathura several years ago—are in Sanskrit. In the caves at Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar, Nanaghat, Karle, and some other places in this Presidency and in the Bhilsa topes, we have Pali or Prakrit Inscriptions. Most of these are short, but at Nasik we have long ones in the caves of Usavadāta and Gotamiputra. The language of these latter is Pali, and but a few forms are peculiar, such as Datta and Kita for which the Pali has Dinna and Kata,—past passive participles of the roots dā and kr, and “Be” for the numeral ‘two,’ instead of the Pali Dve or Duve. In Usavadāta's cave we have one Inscription (almost) entirely in Sanskrit, the rest are in Pali or Prakrit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskrit words, and the conjuncts pra, tra, and ksa often appear. In these and the smaller Inscriptions we have such words as Bāra

1 Since published in a book form, Bombay, 1914. These Wilson Philological Lectures of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages are included in Volume IV of this Edition.—N. B. U.

for Dvāra, Bārasaka for Vārsika, Barisa for Varsa, Udisa for Uddiśya, while the Pali forms of these words are Dvāra, Vassika, Vassa and Uddesetvā.

“Some of these Inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pali could hardly have been the vernacular. It had, however, become the sacred language of the Buddhists; the mendicant priests, for whom the caves were intended, and even educated lay members of that persuasion understood it, and hence it was used in these Inscriptions as Sanskrit was in others. The style of Gotamiputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Aśoka's edicts. And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of the kings who caused the charters to be engraved, acted under the command of, i. e., wrote to the dictation of ‘respected persons who were the compilers of all such documents.’

“It thus appears that the Pali was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of other Inscriptions, which, like those of Gotamiputra and his son, were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons not knowing Sanskrit or Pāli well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of both, would confound together Sanskrit, Pali and vernacular words. Even in our days we find this phenomenon in the Patrikās or horoscopes written by our Jośis or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskrit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of both, and the Sanskrit words and forms in which are incorrectly written.

“And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. Unlike those of the Singalese and Burmese Buddhists these are written in Sanskrit, but in such works as the Lalitavistāra, or the Life of Buddha, we find along with prose passages in pure Sanskrit a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskrit. Thus, for instance, we have—

सर्वशुभकर्महेतोः फलमिदं शृणुतात्स्य कर्मस्य¹ ।

OR

पुजारहो भवितुं सर्वजग अनुबन्धत इममनन्तयशः² ।

“ You will here see that *Karmasya*, *Jage*, and *Yaśam* are, in the Pali, treated like nouns in *a*. *Arha* is dissolved into *araha*, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as *Kileśa* for *kleśa*, *Śiri*, for *śrī*, *Hiri* for *hri*, &c. But generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskrit, and not assimilated as in the Pali. So also you have *Codenti*⁴ for *codayanti*, *Māyā*,⁴ gen. sing. of *māyā*, *Upajānitvā*,⁵ *Śunisyāti*,⁶ *Niriksatha*,⁷ imperative second pers. pl. *Śametha*⁸ for *Śamayata*, &c., and even such words as *manāpa*,⁹ which are Pali in every respect. But along with these Pali characteristics, there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness. For instance, the case terminations are often omitted as in *Kāma sevati*¹⁰ for *Kāmam sevate*, *Sugata*¹¹ for *sugatam*, when governed by *Pūjayitum*, *Moksa bhosyati* for *Mokso bhavisyati*, &c. Such constructions as *Ksāntyā*¹² *saurabhyasampannāh* for *Ksāntisaurabhya*,¹³ *Śīlasamādhī tatha prajñāmayam* for *Śīlasamādhīprajñāmayam* are often to be met with.

“ This language has, therefore, no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as *Karma*, *Jaga*, and *Yaśa* above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in the Pali and the Prakrits made nouns in *a*. But *Yaśas*, the original Sanskrit form, is also used as in *Kirtiryāśasca*,¹⁴ and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved. Along with such a Pali form as *Śunisyāti* noticed above, such a Sanskrit one as *Śrīvanti*,¹⁵ is found. It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language; but that the writers of the *Gāthās* knew the spoken language of Pali, and that they were imperfect-

1 Lalitavistāra p. 40, l. 14.

2 Ib p. 50, l. 6.

3 Ib p. 14, l. 9.

4 Ib, p. 31, l. 7.

5 Ib. p. 40, l. 17.

6 Ib. p. 62, l. 1.

7 Ib p. 41, l. 10.

8 Ib. p. 42, l. 4.

9 Ib. p. 51, l. 15.

10 Ib. p. 31, l. 11.

11 Ib. p. 51, l. 10.

12 Ib p. 41, l. 9.

13 Ib. p. 51, l. 18.

14 Ib. p. 50, l. 17.

15 Ib. p. 1:1, l. 7.

ly acquainted with Sanskrit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar. They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well, often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular.

"At the time when the Gāthās were written, the claims of the Pali to be considered a separate language were probably not recognized, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write, could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men, but they knew it imperfectly, and hence produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen."

I give this rather long extract to show that in my opinion we should not in these Inscriptions look for the characteristics of a settled or fixed dialect. The Inscription under discussion was composed by one who wished to write Sanskrit, but did not know the language quite in the form which was finally given to it by the great grammarians and other authors. Hence, along with Sanskrit, we should expect to meet with a few Pali or vernacular forms of words.

I will now proceed to consider Dr. Hoernle's translation, and his objections to mine.

In the first line occurs the compound *Suvarṇadānatīrthakareṇa*, used as an epithet of *Usavadāta*. I translate it, "who presented gold and constructed flights of steps." Dr. Hoernle calls this a curious juxta-position. Why, I do not know. The Inscription attributes such gifts and charitable deeds to *Usavadāta* as have been considered peculiarly meritorious by Hindus from that to the present day, and are laid down in works on the *Dharmaśāstra*, with certain rituals to be used in making them. The giving away of a hundred thousand cows and of villages, feeding a hundred thousand Brahmins, furnishing Brahmins with the means of marrying, and all the rest, which are credited to *Usavadāta*, are such; and among the meritorious deeds of this nature is the deed of giving *Suvarṇa* or gold, which is quite an independent gift. *Suvarṇadāna* is mentioned as one of the ten chief *Dānas* or

religious gifts, in all treatises on the subject, and among them in Hemādri's *Dānakhandā* (p. 564-75, *Bibl. Ind. Ed.*).

Tirtha is ' a flight of steps ' to a reservoir or stream of water, and is so explained by the native lexicographers, and is used in that sense in literature. Mallinātha, commenting on a verse in the *Kirātārjunīya*, which contains that word, says, " as there are many people to enter a reservoir of water, to which a Tirtha has been constructed but the maker of a Tirtha is rare, so, &c. " The making of a Tirtha, like that of constructing a bridge, is considered a meritorious deed. In a passage from the *Āditya-Purāna*, quoted by Hemādri, in the work mentioned above, Tirtha is named along with *Tadāga* ' a tank, ' *Kūpa* ' a well, ' *Setu* ' a bridge, ' &c., as a thing the maker of which goes to heaven and lives there for crores of years (p 155). *Suvarnadāna* or the gift of gold and the construction of a flight of steps or a *Ghāta*, were the two religiously charitable deeds of *Usavadāta* at *Bārṇasāyā*, and therefore they are here put together. The Inscription is a historical record, and not a work of imagination. If it were the latter, one might well ask what is the necessary connection between them which led the author to put them together. But the muddy state of the river might have led the son-in-law of *Nahapāna* to construct a *Ghāta* there, and *Suvarnadāna*, being one of the several modes of charity which Hindu opinion held sacred, was made by him there as he made other gifts in other places.

The other objection brought forward by Dr. Hoernle is that " *Dānakarena* is, he imagines, a rather unidiomatic expression." I suppose he means that the use of the root *Kr* with *Dāna* is not sanctioned by idiom. But in Hemādri's *Dānakhandā* we have (p. 3, v. 17), *Tatkr̥tadānavārīlahari*, " the waves of the water [poured on the occasion] of the gifts made by him " ; (p. 34), *yat kanyāsu pitā kuryāt dānam pūjnamarcanam*, quoted from the *Brāhma Purāna* ; (p. 90), *dānamācamanam praudha-pādo na kurvīta*, quoted from *Śātyāyana* ; (p. 688), *yat kimcit kurute dānam tadānantyāya kalpate*, extracted from the *Vahni-Purāna* ; and (p. 996), *dānam tena prakartavyam*, quoted from the *Bhavisyottara*. In these and a variety of other instances the

root *Kr* is used with *Dāna* and therefore my way of dissolving the compound cannot be objected to on the score of idiom.

Now Dr. Hoernle's translation of the compound which, he says, is also Dr. Buhler's, is—"gave gold to build a sacred bathing place." This destroys the religious sense of *Dāna* and makes the expression *Suvarnadāna* quite useless. Certainly the other works of *Usavadāta*,—the rest-houses, tanks, wells, &c.,—were not constructed or dug by him with his own hands. He paid gold or money to get them also constructed or dug. Why then should the expression *Suvarnadāna* be used here, and not in those places? And what are bathing places as different from the *Ghātas* or flights of steps, and whence do you get them?

The next expression with my translation of which Dr. Hoernle finds fault, is *Catusālāvasadhapratiśraya*. He thinks that one kind of building only is intended by this compound, but beyond saying that in this Dr. Bühler agrees with him, he gives no reason whatever. But *Pratiśraya*, as I have stated in a note, is what in these days is called an *Annasattra*, i. e., a house where travellers put up and are fed without charge. Dr. Hoernle calls it a rest-house. I have no objection to the word, provided he means what I mean; for *Hemādri*, (p. 152), explains *Pratiśraya* as *Pravāsinām āśrayah*, i. e., a shelter-house for travellers. Again, the *Vahni-Purāna* as quoted by him, (p. 673) has—

प्रतिश्रयं सुविस्तीर्णं सद्गृहं सुजलान्वितम् ।
 दीनानाथजनार्थाय कारयित्वा गृहं शुभम् ।
 निवेदयेत्प्रतिश्रयः शुभद्वारं मनोहरम् ॥

"Having caused to be constructed for poor and helpless persons a *Pratiśraya* [in the shape of] a good house, very commodious (wide), having food and plentiful water, provided with a good door, and charming, he should dedicate it to travellers."

The establishment of such houses for poor travellers, i. e., the founding of *Pratiśrayas*, forms an independent charitable deed of great merit (see *Hemādri*, *Dānakhandā* pp. 673–677). There is another in the shape of giving houses to poor persons (pp. 646–

663). Houses so given are sometimes spoken of as *Āvasathas*. Thus *Vedavyāsa*, as quoted by *Hemādri* (p. 646), has—

रम्यावसथं चैव उवाचुं लोकमाश्रितः ।

"Having given away a charming house, (*āvasatha*), he attained the other world." In the *Ānūsāsani*ka *Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* an account is given of several former kings having performed certain charitable deeds and obtained their fruits in the next world, and among them one is spoken of as "having given away charming houses to the twice-born and gone to heaven"—

रम्याश्चावसथान्त्वा द्विजेभ्यो द्विवर्णतः ।

*Ānūsāsani*ka *Parvan*, chap. 137, v. 10, Bombay Edition.

Similarly the *Brahmānda Purāna* as quoted by *Hemādri* (p. 162), says that by giving away charming *Āvasathas* or houses, one attains the fruit of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. The extract from the *Mahābhārata* given on the next page by the same writer contains a verse in which the giving away of *Vihārāvasathas* or pleasure houses, is associated with the giving away of gardens and wells.

Thus then, *Āvasathadāna* and *Pratiśrayadāna* are two different things, and therefore the compound does not express one thing only. Now *Catussāla* might be taken as an attribute of *Āvasatha*, but even here, seeing how gifts of different things are associated in the other compounds used in this Inscription, I think it is better to take that also separately.

The next expression in dispute is *Ibā-Pārādā-Damana-Tāpi-Karabenā-Dāhanukā-nāvāpunyatarakarena*. Dr. Hoernle takes *Nāvāpunyatarakarena* as one compound, and *Ibā-Dāhanukā* as another. This last is, according to him, in the accusative case. I would ask 'What is the accusative governed by?' But this is not a difficulty with Dr. Hoernle, for he says "the accusative is used for the locative." He thinks this is a rule of the *Gāthā* dialect; and to prove that rule, he adduces four instances only,—two from the *Mahāvastu* and two from the *Lalitavistāra*,—though he says this substitution of the one case for the other is "particularly frequent". I am sorry the *Mahāvastu* is not at hand, but the first reference to the

Lalitavistāra I have verified. There the words are Yathābhīpre-tam Rājagrham vihr̥tya, "having diverted or enjoyed himself in Rājagrha in accordance with his wishes." Now Rājagrham is, according to Dr. Hoernle, by a Gāthā rule, an accusative used for the locative. In Sanskrit proper the accusative, he thinks, would not be put here. He appears to me to follow the Editor of the work, and since the latter professes to explain what he considers peculiar Gāthā expressions in the footnotes, and since here in a footnote, the Editor does give Rājagrhe as an equivalent for Rājagrham, his conclusion is that the accusative is here used for the locative. But Patañjali, the great grammarian, commenting on a Kārikā to Pāṇini, I. 4. 51 says :—

देशाश्चकर्मकाणां कर्मसंज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

i. e. the place where an action denoted by an intransitive root is performed is to be called a Karma or object, and as such should be put in the accusative case. The instances he gives are Kurūn svapiti, 'he sleeps in the Kurus,' Pañcālān svapiti, 'he sleeps in the Pañcālas' This observation of Patañjali and the first instance are given in the Siddhānta Kaumudī. In virtue of this rule of Sanskrit then, not of the supposed Gāthā dialect, Rājagrha, in the passage from the Lalitavistāra, being the place where the action denoted by the root hr̥ with vi, which is intransitive, is performed, the name of the town is regarded as an object and put in the accusative case, and so we have Rājagrham.

In the other reference to the Lalitavistāra the line mentioned is at page 476 instead of page 467. Here Dr. Hoernle has quite misunderstood the editor's note. In the text we have the compound Tvacamāmsam. In a footnote the editor explains this as tvanmāmse, which he must have meant for the dual nominative of the Dvandva compound of Tvac and Māmsa. But from the termination e, the Doctor thought the editor meant it to be a locative. The locative would make no sense here—the case wanted is the nominative. In the text, though Tvac is treated like a noun ending in a the compound is Samāhāradvandva, as it should be according to Pāṇini II. 4. 2; but the editor seems to have thought it wrong, and so has given the ordinary Dvandva instead.

Now in the two instances from the Mahāvastu given by Dr. Hoernle, the words in the accusative are Avīcim, which is a kind of Buddhistic hell, and Dharanīm, which, I suppose, is the word that signifies "the earth." If these are governed by verbs or participles implying "motion," they are regular Sanskrit accusatives; if not, they also must be brought under the rule we have been considering. It is possible that the rule which primarily is taken by Patañjali's commentators to apply to names of places, such as Kurus, Pañcālas, Rājagṛha, &c, may in later usage have been extended, and made applicable to places generally, such as the earth and the Buddhistic hell; but that the accusative in these cases is to be accounted for in either of these two ways and no other, appears certain.

Then again, Dr. Hoernle thinks that there are two accusative forms in this Inscription itself which, violating the rules of Sanskrit grammar, prove his Gāthā rule. One of them is Tīram in the expression Ubhato tīram. This, however, is in perfect accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar, for, under Pāṇini, II, 3. 2, Patañjali gives a Kārikā, and comments on it thus :—

उभयसर्वे इत्येताभ्यां तसन्ताभ्या द्वितीया वक्तव्या ।

i. e., a noun that is in syntactical connection with Ubhayatah and Sarvatah should be put in the accusative case: in other words, Ubhayatah and Sarvatah govern an accusative. The instance given by him is Ubhayato Grāmam. The Kārikā is given in the Siddhānta Kaumudī.

The other accusative form relied on by Dr. Hoernle is Varsāratum in the expression Gato'smi varsāratum. This accusative is to be explained by Pāṇini, II 3. 5, which teaches that a noun expressing duration should be put in the accusative case. The sense then would be that Usavadāta went to the place mentioned for the rains. Now if it should be objected that in Gato'smi varsāratum, duration is not what is meant, but simply the time when he went, this might be considered to be an extension of the original Sanskrit rule, but not a violation of it. This is what I meant by saying in a note in my paper that Varsāratum is used for Varsārtau.

Thus then the rule laid down by Dr. Hoernle that the accusative is promiscuously used for the locative is not at all proved;

nor do I think there can be such a rule. There may be an extension in a few cases of some of the special rules about the use of the accusative, as must be expected from the operation of the law of analogy,¹ but a promiscuous substitution of the one case for the other is not possible under any ascertained laws of the growth of human speech.

In the case in dispute, therefore, the supposed accusative Ibā—Dāhanukā must be justified on other grounds. It should be stated what it is governed by. An accusative must be governed by a verb, a participle, a preposition or a particle of that nature, and if it is an accusative expressive of length, distance, or duration, it must depend on the word, the length, distance or duration of the thing denoted by which it expresses. None of these requisites exists in the present case, and therefore to take Ibā—Dāhanukā as an accusative is clearly a mistake.

So then, if we take Nāvā to be the Pali form of the Sanskrit Nau, we shall have to consider the whole expression given above as one compound, and there is no question the compound would be awkward and unintelligible; while if we take Nāvā as an instrumental, and Ibā—Dāhanukā as a compound with the genitive termination *nām* omitted by mistake, the construction is natural and simple, and the sense plain. Besides, if the names of the rivers are to be taken as parts of the compound, and consequently attributively joined to the word Tara, and thus subordinated to it, they cannot be referred to by the pronoun Etāsām immediately afterwards. And since the rivers are independently spoken of by the genitive Etāsām, it is very likely that their names were independently put in the genitive case before. And the omission of *nām* is very natural; for the engraver did actually cut one nā in the stone, and thought he had cut both.

Dr. Hoernle translates the expression Nāvāpunyatarakara by "maker of a sacred ferry of boats." He thus takes the first part as a genitive Tatpuruṣa equivalent to Nāvānām punyatarah (supposing Nāvā to be a word ending in ā). Now Tarah means "crossing," wherefore the compound would express "the sacred crossing of boats." This to my mind conveys no sense. Tara

1 Hemacandra notices such an extension in his Prakṛit grammar.

has hardly a conventional (Rūḍha) sense as distinguished from the etymological (Yaugika). And even supposing it denotes " a boat," which it does not, what can " the sacred boat of boats " mean? And why should the ferry-boats be called sacred? Dr. Hoernle says, because " they were set apart for a special sacred purpose, viz., to carry pilgrims across." But what is the necessity of restricting the good done by Usavadāta to pilgrims? Ferry-boats are a necessity in the case of all, just as water is, and as an establishment for giving water is opened by charitable persons for all human beings, so are ferry-boats placed for the use of all. There is no ground whatever for supposing that their use was so restricted, nor is it reasonable to suppose it was. But Dr. Hoernle's objection to the interpretation of *Punya* as " religiously meritorious," is that the establishment of boats is " no more so than the other acts specified in the record." The objection has force no doubt, and therefore I would divide and read the words thus: *Nāvā apanyatarakarena. Panya* is used in the sense of something one has to pay in exchange for what he purchases¹; and *Tarapanya* is a word given by the native lexicographers in the sense of what is paid for being taken across a river, i. e. the fare of a ferry-boat. *Apanyatara*, therefore, is a *Tara* or crossing for which one has not to pay anything, i. e. a free carriage across; and that is what *Usavadāta* provided by placing boats on the rivers. The translation of the whole expression therefore is, literally, " who by means of boats caused a free passage across the rivers *Ibā*, &c., " i. e., " who established free or charitable ferry-boats." This is the sense of the words I have used in the translation of the Inscription in my paper, though I do not now remember whether I read and construed the compounds as I do now, and cannot understand how there is no note on it, and how the translation of a few words in this line has dropped away, as Dr. Hoernle points out. The sense this construction gives appears to me to be so appropriate, that here again I must accuse the engraver of a mistake. Instead of stopping after he had cut a square with the upper line wanting, to represent 7, he prolonged the right hand side below the line and made

1 महुता पुण्यपण्येन क्रीतेन कायनेस्त्वदा i. e., " You have purchased this boat of your body by paying a heavy price for it in the shape of good deeds."

ꣳ of it. He was more familiar with the word *Punya* than *Panya*, and had to engrave it once before, and hence his mistake is not unnatural.

In the transcript of the Inscription in my paper, ꣳ appears in brackets after *Ubhato*. Thereupon Dr. Hoernle thinks I read *ubhaya* for *ubhato* and construe *ubhayatiram* as a compound. But if taken as a compound it would have to be considered as in the accusative case. The accusative, however, cannot be syntactically connected here. I do not think it was difficult to make out that what I meant was to give the correct Sanskrit form of the word, which is *Ubhayato* and not *ubhato*, and that the bracketed ꣳ was printed after ढे instead of between ळ and ढे by a mistake.

The next expression is *Sabhā-prapā-karena*. Dr. Bühler and I understand *Sabhā-prapā* as a *Dvandva*, but Dr. Hoernle thinks "the compound may be explained much more simply as a common *Tatpuruṣa*," and takes it to be a dative *Tatpuruṣa*. Why is a dative *Tatpuruṣa* much more simple than a *Dvandva*? On the contrary, I should think it one of the most difficult, since Pāṇini and his commentators allow it only in a few cases. A dative *Tatpuruṣa* is possible only between two nouns, the first of which having the sense of the dative, denotes a certain material, and the second a thing made of that material, and between any noun in the dative sense and *Artha*, *Bali*, *Hita*, or *Raksita*.

It is wrong to suppose that we can compound any words in any sense. The Sanskrit idiom sanctions certain compounds only, and in a certain sense, and rules about these have been given by the grammarians, and they are generally followed by Sanskrit writers, though not invariably. A compound that violates the rules strikes the ear at once as bad. You cannot, for instance, form such a compound as *Brāhmanapayah* in the sense of *Brāhmanāya payah*; and no more can you have *Sabhāprapāh* in the sense of *Sabhāyai* or *sabhābhyah prapāh*. Both the compounds would be quite un-idiomatic. And what is the sense that we get? *Usavadāta* constructed "watering places for the assemblies, i. e., for those assembled to cross over the rivers." Why need persons assemble in numbers to cross a river, and if evne

they did, who would think of calling them a *Sabhā*, except metaphorically ? A *Sabhā* is much more formal than that. The word has the sense of "a regular assembly," or "a meeting," with a certain purpose. A crowd of persons who have casually gathered on the road do not constitute a *Sabhā*. The word denotes also "a hall," or "a house." The first sense does not answer here, but the second is appropriate.

The clause to be next discussed is the one beginning with *Pinditakāvade*, and ending with *Parsabhyah*. Dr. Hoernle translates *Rāmatīrthe carakaparsabhyah* by "the *Parsads* (or congregations) going to *Rāmatīrtha*." He takes *Caraka* as a verbal derivative like *Kāraka* and *Hāraka*, since he understands it in its etymological sense, and attaches to the root its primary signification, viz, to "move or wander." But if it is used as a verbal derivative, the vowel should have taken *Vrddhi* and the word become *Cāraka*. *Caraka*, the refore, has a special sense, and I believe is never used simply in the sense of "one who moves." In the quotation from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their *Lexicon*, sub voce, which is *Madresu carakāḥ paryavrajāma*, the word *Caraka* is explained by *Samkarācārya* and others as *Adhyayanārtham vrata-caranāḥ carakāḥ*, i. e., "they were called *Carakas*, because they were observing (✓ *car*) a vow for the sake of study"; and the very use of the verb *paryavrajāma*, which means 'we wandered,' shows that *Caraka* had even then acquired a secondary and conventional (*Rūḍha*) sense. It has other special senses also, but the word—I maintain—is not used in the primary and etymological sense attached to it by the Doctor. Besides, the compound is by no means good, since the word *Caraka* which has been subordinated to *Parsad*, is what is called *Sāpekṣa*, i. e., connected with the word *Rāmatīrthe*, which is not in the compound. A subordinate member of a compound should not, as a general rule, be thus connected with an independent word, though a *Sāpekṣa* compound is allowable when the sense is not rendered obscure thereby. *Rddhasya rājapurusaḥ*, for instance, in which *Rāja* is connected with *Rddhasya* will not do, though *Devadattasya gurukulam* is admissible.

Dr. Hoernle here says that "in Sanskrit we should expect the accusative *Rāmatīrtham*," instead of the locative *Rāmatīrthe*,

which he accounts for by a Prakrit usage ; i. e., according to him, the rules of Sanskrit grammar require that the expression should be Rāmatīrtham Carakaparsadbhyah. I suppose he means that the accusative will be governed by the word caraka. Here there is a double mistake. When a verbal or participial form of the root car is used in the primary sense of the root, viz. "wandering," the place wandered over is oftener put in the locative than in the accusative.¹ So that the locative is not only not wrong according to the idiom of Sanskrit, but is decidedly better. But even if we suppose that the "place wandered over" is always considered as the object of the action, and put in the accusative, as in the case of the root Gam, still by a general and very rudimentary rule of Sanskrit grammar, the agent or object of an action is put in the genitive case when any verbal derivatives are used (Pāṇini II. 3. 65), except those enumerated in Pāṇini II. 3. 69. Thus ghatam kārakah is certainly not Sanskrit, and so Rāmatīrtham carakah cannot be. They ought to be Ghatasya kārakah and Rāmatīrthasya carakah, supposing this latter word were unobjectable in in other respects, as it certainly is not.

And now as to the sense of the expression. Why should "going to Rāmatīrtha" have been rendered a sine qua non of the recipients of Usavadāta's gift? The congregations resided in Govardhana, Śorparaga, and other places. Why should it have been considered necessary that they should 'be in the habit' of going to Rāmatīrtha to be fit to receive the cocoanut trees? Thus, in every way Dr. Hoernle's construction and translation are untenable.

I still think Caraka is a mistake for Carana; for then the expression Caranaparsadbhyah would mean "to the conclaves of learned men belonging to the Caranas or bodies of students of each Veda or Śākhā." But Caraka also will make sense, though it is not so appropriate; for it would mean "the bodies of persons belonging to the Caraka śākhā." In the last case the sense is restricted, and in the other, I do not understand why the observers of the vows meant should be spoken of as forming a Paṇḍit which

1 See अरुपे चकार Ait. Brāh. VII, 14 & 15, and the many quotations given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their Lexicon, sub voce.

is rather a technical term as applicable to the learned leaders of a Śākha.

Then Dr. Hoernle sees no reason why Dr. Stevenson and I should read *parśadhhyah* instead of *parśabhyaḥ*. For myself I may state that I visited the caves in person, and compared Mr. West's transcripts with the originals. On looking into my copy of the transcripts I now find *bhyah* corrected to *dhhyah*, though there is a mark of interrogation against this. I am not sure therefore that *dhhyah* exists there, but I thought I saw it, and hence put it in.

Again, the Doctor says :—"The word *nāligera* has greatly puzzled Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar." Though his identification of the word with the Sanskrit *Nārikela* is not improbable, as far as the sound of the word is concerned, I must confess I still continue to be greatly puzzled. For, if *Usavadāta* presented thirty-two cocoanut trees in the village of *Nānamgola*, this village must be on or near the sea coast, for cocoanut trees do not grow above the *Ghātas*. But among the grantees was the body of the learned Brahmins of *Govardhana* near *Nasik*, and it was one of the four congregations at least to whom the thirty-two trees were given, so that about eight must have fallen to its lot. Now the presentation of eight cocoanut-trees at a place more than sixty miles distant from where the persons to whom they were presented lived, and separated from it by a high mountain range, is a thing of a very unusual character. The Brahmins of *Govardhana* would have preferred some other trees or something else nearer home, if *Usavadāta* really wished to confer a favour upon them. And if the *Govardhana* conclave consisted of several individuals, the grant was of hardly any practical value to any one of them. And what could be the reason why thirty-two cocoanut trees in one and the same village were given to bodies of men living in different places?

Dr. Hoernle thinks it objectionable to take *Dharmātmanā* as an epithet of *Usavadāta* in the sense of "benevolent," or "charitable," and translates it "out of religious principle." In Sanskrit usage *Dharmātman* is always used as an epithet of a person, and taken as a *Bahuvrīhi* in the sense of *dharmaḥ ātmā yasya*, i. e. "one whose very self, or soul, or nature, is charity or benevo-

lence, or virtue."¹ In our modern vernaculars also, the word is used in that sense. If understood as *Dharmaścāsau ātmā ca*, i. e., as a *Karmadhāraya*, it would mean by (his) self or nature, viz. benevolence, &c., which comes to the same thing as before, though the compound and its use would be unidiomatic. If taken as a genitive *Tatpursa*, '*Dharmasya ātmā*,' the sense would be "by the nature or self of benevolence &c." In this sense it would not do here at all; for *Usavadāta* gave away what he did because benevolence was his nature, not on account of the nature of benevolence, which would be unintelligible. Dr Hoernle is "inclined to think that it is probably a Buddhistic technical term;" but he gives no reason for this. I wish he had given one instance at least.

He says *Dharmātmanā* is very widely separated from *Usavadāta*, whose epithet it is taken to be. The same objection might be brought against the epithet that immediately precedes, viz. *Sahasrapradena*; but notwithstanding that, Dr. Hoernle himself construes it with *Usavadāta*. The thing is, after the word *Usavadāta*, you have in the Inscription nothing but a string of epithets, and *Dharmātmanā* is the last of them. Between this and the preceding epithet, you have only the name of the place where the monastery was excavated, so that really the epithet in question is not far removed.

The other objection is, that the word occurs in another Inscription (West's No. 11, not 4), where the Doctor thinks it impossible to construe it with the person named. To be able to construe it with the person, I have taken the word to be *Dhammātmano*,—led to it by some stroke above the *nā*. But if that reading is not allowable, we should complete the first sentence with *Indrāgnidattasa*, and translate:—"Of *Indrāgnidatta*, the Northerner &c," i. e., after the genitive some such word as *Dānam* or *Deyadhammo*, should be understood, as it has to be done frequently.¹ The second sentence begins with *Dhammātmanā*, and

1 See the references, sub voce, in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Lexicon*; and *Mahābhārata Anuśāsanika*, Bom. Ed chap 139, v. 10, *Dharmātmā Kṛṣṇaḥ*, chap. 140, v. 2, *dharmātmā Vṛsabhāṅkaḥ*; chap. 142, v. 39, *Dikṣāṁ carati dharmātmā*, ib. v. 57, *Sukhaṁ vasati dharmātmā*; chap 143, v 45, *Viprobhavati dharmātmā &c. &c.*

the instrumental is to be connected with Khānitam, the sense being "this cave was caused to be excavated by the pious one"

Then Dr. Hoernle speaks of my reading of two words in the last line, Bhattārakā āññātiyā, and thinks the final ā of Bhattārakā is unintelligible. But it exists in the original notwithstanding. The initial ā of the next word is that which is written below the line. I transferred it to its proper place, taking it to be a correction, as Dr. Bühler does. Dr. Hoernle and he, however, read it as ॐ, but in my corrected copy of Mr. West's transcript I find ā and there is no query after it as in the case of Parsadbhyah noticed above, and that it must be ā, I will show presently.

Dr. Hoernle thinks that the ॐ below the line is meant to indicate the division of the compound. Why was that considered necessary here and not in Gatosmi, which occurs immediately afterwards and in Catusālāvasadha, which we have in the second line? It appears to me that the engraver first cut the words Bhattārakāññātiyā, and somebody afterwards found that it was capable of being taken as Bhattārakā āññātiyā, equivalent to Bhattārakā ajñāptyā, meaning "without the knowledge of the lord," but that was not what was meant. What was intended was Bhattārakā āññātiyā for Bhattārakā ajñāptyā, i. e., "by the command of the lord," and in order that there might be no mistake about it, he thought the best way was to separate the words, as he had done in the case of Tadāga udapāna in the second line, and put in the initial ॐ which was so important. After he had done that, it was necessary to obliterate the stroke representing ॐ in the last syllable of Bhattārakā, but as this was difficult he did not attempt it.

Now as to the gap between Mālaye and Hirudham, I thought I saw some letters like sāyīm in it when I visited the caves, and therefore it did not occur to me to say the gap contained nothing, and to connect hi with Mālaye. Dr. Hoernle's reading Mālayehim is however very likely and good, and I feel no hesitation in saying so—as I have felt none in expressing my disagreement with him on every other point, except, to a certain extent, the identification of Nāligera with Nārikela—and in pointing out his mistakes.

1 See No. 10 Karle, and No. 21 Junnar, Arch. Sur. Western India,—Cave Temple Inscriptions No. 10, Bhilsa Tope Nos. 103, 136, 147, 174, No. 1 Tope &c.

THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA.

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[The paper was communicated on 1st August 1889.]

In 1884 I published in my *Early History of the Deccan*, a note on the Gupta Era¹, in which I endeavoured to show that there was no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the initial date of the Gupta Era, given by Alberuni, and that, such of the Gupta dates found in Inscriptions, as contained details which allowed of their being compared with corresponding Śaka years, confirmed the statement of the Arab author. In the Introduction to the Volume on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings," just published by Mr. J. F. Fleet, as Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India for about three years and a half, he quotes my views, in doing which, however, he has not been fair to me. He is also at issue with me with regard to the accurate Epoch of the Gupta Era. I therefore deem it necessary to notice this part of the Introduction.

In note 2, p. 64, Mr. Fleet says of me -- "A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka Era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka-Samvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A. D. 484-85 with a difference of 78-79, he also with the same difference, took, e. g., A. D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Samvat 433 current." I did not; and this is a pure misquotation. I did not say that Śaka-Samvat 406 expired was equivalent to A. D. 484-85; nor did I say that Śaka-Samvat 433 current was equivalent to A. D. 511-12. My words are:-- "Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A. D. If, however, he had added $241 + 78 = 319$ and taken 484 A. D. to correspond to Gupta 165, &c." (*Early History of the Deccan*, p. 99, lines 12 and 15-16);² and " $191 \text{ Gupta past} + 242 = 433 \text{ Śaka current} + 78 = 511 \text{ A. D. current}$ " That is, I take 406 Śaka past (= Gupta + 241) to correspond to 484 A. D. and 433 Śaka current to 511 A. D.

1 Ante, pp. 179Æ. [N. B. U.]

2 Ante, p. 179 [N. B. U.]

Now it is a patent fact that every Śaka year corresponds to parts of two Christian years; but to avoid pedantry it is usual to give one of the two years only, except when something important is involved. And I have here given that of the two Christian years with which I was concerned. Śaka 406 past corresponds to a part of 484 and of 485 A. D., and Śaka 433 current to a part of 510 and 511 A. D. I gave the first in the first case, because, the month of Āśādha mentioned in the Inscription falls in the first of the two Christian years to which a Śaka year corresponds, and to mark off its contrast with General Cunningham's 483 (not 483-484); and the second in the second case because it was the year against which the cyclic year Mahācāitra is found in General Cunningham's Tables, and not against 510.

It will thus be seen that the "most curious confusion" found by Mr. Fleet is not in my remarks, but in Mr. Fleet's misunderstanding and misquotation of them. He had no reason whatever to take my 511 A. D. as 511-12 A. D.; if he wanted to state the two years to which the Śaka year corresponds, he ought to have taken it as 510-11 A. D.

In another place (p. 141, note 3) though he acknowledges that my second note draw his attention to the desirability of examining the details of almanacs, and though he must have seen it distinctly stated by me, that the Śaka dates used by us in the Bombay residency represent expired years, and those used on the Madras side current years, the latter being in advance of the former by one year, and though under these circumstances it is impossible that I should think the addition of 79 to a current Śaka year would give us the Christian year containing the second part of the Śaka year,--still it is under such an implication as this that he quotes this same equation of mine, viz., 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current + 78 = 511 A. D. current, and another viz., 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current + 78 = 529 A. D. current. Both these equations I say are perfectly correct; but the second Christian year a part of which corresponds to a part of the Śaka year, ought not to be taken as 512 in the one case and 530 in the other, but 510 and 528 respectively. And as I have given 511 in the first case as stated above, because in General

Cunningham's Tables, it and not 510 occurs in the column of Mahā-caitra, so have I in the second, given 529 and not 528, because it occurs in the column of Mahāśvayuja.

Again in my note, I identify (E. H. D., p. 129, lines 26-27)¹ Dhruvasena II with Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhata, and observing that the difference in the latter part of the name is insignificant, since Sena and Bhata were titles that could be used promiscuously, I proceed to say that the king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name. Now, no fair-minded man can have any difficulty whatever in finding out that here I speak of the same king Dhruvasena with whom I have above identified Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhata, and that Dhruvasimha is a misprint for Dhruvasena. Still Mr. Fleet says "the name of Dhruvasimha does not occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhi grants that have come to light." If I were to criticize Mr. Fleet's work in the same spirit, I should for instance, say as regards his reference to Volume IX of the Archæological Reports as that which contains General Cunningham's "Tables for the twelve year cycle of Jupiter" (p. 102, note 1, l. 13), that the Tables did not occur at all in the whole Volume; and I should be more justified in doing so, since Mr. Fleet gives no indication whatever that IX is a misprint for X; while I have just five lines above called the same king whose name is printed here as Dhruvasimha, Dhruvasena.

Mr. Fleet supposes me to have made "an assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings" (Intro. p. 65, ll. 6-7). I made no such assertion. My words are "The Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings," (E. H. D., p. 129, ll. 16-17).² The word two does not occur here or anywhere else in connection with this matter. Mr. Fleet, however, may have meant to say that this is implied in the words that immediately follow which are:—"and says they were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata, was son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhara. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings." If so, my reply is, that herein I interpret the plural kings in view of the identification I am going to make of the kings with two brothers

1 Ante, p. 182. [N. B. U.]

2 Ante, p. 181. [N. B. U.]

who reigned one after another, viz. Dharasena and Dhruvasena. Mr. Fleet at the same time finds no authority in the two translations of the Chinese work for my statement that the younger prince was denoted by Hiuen Tsiang by the name Tu-lu-p'o-p'o-tu. The authority is in Julien's translation. The words translated into English are :—"The present kings are of the race of Ksatriya. They are nephews of Śilāditya, king of Mālvā. At this time the son of Śilāditya, king of Kānyakubja, has a son-in-law named Dhruvapatu." Since Hiuen Tsiang is to be supposed as knowing of kings past and present and not future, the kings who were nephews of Śilāditya of Mālvā other than the one on the throne at the time, must have reigned previously to him, and since of brothers those who are elder occupy the throne before the younger, Dhruvapatu's brother or brothers who reigned before him must have been his elder brother or brothers, and he, his or their, younger brother. This is an obvious inference.

Again Mr Fleet says :—"he announced that Prof K. L. Chhatre had found that it (Eran record) was correct for Śaka-Samvat 406 as an expired year : " (p 64) On this there is a foot-note which begins :—" It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta Samvat 165 of the record was itself an expired year. " And then he proceeds to tell me something about "the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date " being not " intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all," the bearing of which on the point I cannot understand, since the question is whether the Gupta year 165 as compared with the corresponding Śaka year and not the Christian year was an expired year And in determining the value of a Gupta date, we have primarily to do so in terms of a Śaka date and not a Christian date, since the equation given by Alberuni is in terms of a Śaka date.

It will, however, be seen from the context that the fact of 406 Śaka being an expired year was only one of the premises which led me to the conclusion that 165 Gupta was a past year. The other premise is the rule I have laid down at the end of the last paragraph, viz., that if both Gupta and Śaka years are past or both current, the difference between them is only 241.¹ And I have alluded to it even here. If between 165 Gupta and 406 Śaka the difference is 241, and if the latter is

¹ Ante, p. 179. [N B. U.]

an expired year, the former also must be so. The grounds for this rule also are indicated in my paper. Mr. Fleet contests it and attributes the result I come to, to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (p 84, note) and refers to his note on p. 64 which I have been discussing and in which he says "the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all." What the epoch of the Śaka era and the equation have to do with my rule I cannot perceive. It is based on independent grounds which I will now proceed to discuss as well as the true epoch of the Gupta era.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has calculated and verified certain dates for Mr. Fleet and the following are the results :—

1 Gupta 165 of the Eran Inscription corresponds to Śaka 406 expired.

2 Valabhi 945 of Colonel Tod's Veraval Inscription corresponds to Śaka 1186 expired.

3 Valabhi 927 of Dr. Bhagvanlal's Veraval Inscription corresponds to Śaka 1167 expired.

4 Valabhi 330 of Dr. Bühler's Kaira plate Inscription corresponds to Śaka 570 expired.

5 Gupta 386 of a Nepal Inscription corresponds to Śaka 627 expired.

6 Gupta 585 past of the Morvi plate translated by me corresponds to Śaka 826 and 827 expired.

Now Mr. Fleet supposes that the Gupta-Valabhi years are current years, and that by the addition of 241, the equation given by Alberuni, we get the corresponding expired Śaka-year, and of 242, the corresponding current Śaka year. So that 0 Gupta current corresponded to 241 Śaka expired and 242 Śaka current, i e to 319-20. This therefore is the epoch of the era. Mr. Fleet gives no reason whatever for taking the Gupta years as current; but I suppose he thinks it natural that they would be so, especially since they were regnal years and dates in the Christian era represent current years. But from Inscriptions and books we see that the Hindu's usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date

is not 'in the year so and so' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event took place.' And in the second note given in the 'Early History of the Deccan,' I have shown that in the Inscriptions there examined, about two-thirds of the dates represent the years expired, and one third the year current. It should by no means be supposed that the expired year is to be understood only when a word expressive of 'having elapsed' is used. We use expired Śaka years at the present day in ordinary transactions, but never use a word expressive of 'having elapsed.'

Mr. Fleet admits, though most grudgingly, that "we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year whether it is expressly denoted as such or not" (p. 128 ll. 30-31), and gives an instance in a foot note. But by "such an era" he means an era used for astronomical purposes, i. e., in the present case, the Śaka era, and asserts that the "rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes," and says that the Vikrama era is such an era, (ib.). But in the very next sentence he admits so much at least that "the expired years of this era might be quoted" and actually gives three instances; and all that he claims for the supposition on which his whole speculation about the Gupta dates—which occupies by far the greater portion of his Introduction—is based, is that "occasionally at least, the current years were used." Mr. Fleet goes on to say, "such an era, again, is the Gupta Valabhi era," and declares that in the absence of a word meaning "expired" it is only reasonable that we should interpret passages giving dates as denoting a current year.

What, then, all this comes to is this:—The expired years of an era whether used for astronomical purposes or not might be quoted in dates; but in the case of the latter a word expressive of "expired" must be used; if not, the year is to be taken as current; while in the case of the former, i. e., an era used for astronomical calculation, such a word is not necessary. The grounds of this distinction Mr. Fleet does not give, and it is proved to be simply imaginary by the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet himself (p. 86, note 3) that the Vikrama year 1320 in Col Tod's Veraval inscription is an

expired year, though there is no expression there which means "expired "

If then a date in the non-astronomical Vikrama era does sometimes denote an expired year whether it is expressly so stated or not, why may we not take the same to be true of the non-astronomical Gupta Valabhi era? And what has the fact of the use of an era for astronomical purposes to do with the occurrences of expired years in the dates given in Inscriptions and books? I see no reason whatever why, if astronomers use an era and construct their rules and tables on the basis of an expired year, ordinary people also should give their dates in expired years. And why should astronomers themselves use that as the basis of their rules? If calculations have to be made by taking completed years, surely the results may be made applicable to the current year, and given as astronomical facts belonging to that year. Do not the Christian astronomers do so? There is nothing in the nature of astronomy to lead to such a result.

The fact is that the use of a past Śaka year instead of a current one was brought about by the Hindu's usual way of looking at a date stated above; and it was rather transferred to astronomy from ordinary usage than borrowed from astronomy. And the usage has been found to hold in the case of Vikrama dates whether a word meaning 'expired' occurs or not, though this era is not used for astronomical purposes. Thus then the usage proved by me with reference to the Śaka dates and now shown to hold in the case of Vikrama dates, must be regarded as applicable to Gupta dates also, and we must expect to find them mostly as expired years, and sometimes as current years.

Again, Alberuni's equation is, Śaka 953 corresponds to Gupta 712, i.e. we have to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. We have seen that the addition of 241 in three at least of the above dates, and in the four dates of the twelve-year style gives us an expired Śaka year. Hence Alberuni's Śaka 953 must be an expired year, a fact which is also proved by the corresponding date in one of the other eras given by him; and on Mr. Fleet's theory, his Gupta 712 must be a current year. Now it does not at all look likely that in giving

the equivalent dates, he should give the expired year of the Śaka and the current year of the Gupta.

Again, when he states that the epoch of the Valabhi or Gupta era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era, ought we to understand him to say that the current year 0 of the Gupta era, i. e. the year before the commencement of the era was 241 years later than the expired year 0 of the Śaka, i. e. the first current year of that era, and make 241 Śaka expired and 242 current to correspond with 0 Gupta current and 242 and 243 respectively with 1 Gupta current? Is it not proper to interpret him as meaning that the epoch of the Gupta era, i. e. 0 Gupta current, is 241 year later than the epoch of the Śaka era, i. e. 0 Śaka current, and take 241 Śaka current and 240 expired to correspond with Gupta 0 current and 242 and 241 respectively with 1 Gupta current? According to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it, the difference between a current, or expired Gupta year and the corresponding current or expired Śaka is 242, Alberuni's equation 241 being applicable to those cases only in which one is expired and the other is current, while according to my interpretation the difference is 241, i. e., the number given by Alberuni. Again, my way of taking it harmonizes with M. Reinaud's translation "the era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of the Śaka," which means that 241 Śaka past is 1 current of the Gupta era or 0 past, while Mr. Fleet's is quite opposed to it as according to him Gupta 1 current corresponds to 242 Śaka past.

Again, the roundabout way of arriving at the date of the destruction of Somnath mentioned by Alberuni proves nothing. The year 242 to which the years of passed centenniums have to be added may be the epoch year of the centennium. Thus, then, it is reasonable and natural to understand Alberuni, from all he has said, to mean that 241 have to be added to an expired or current Gupta to arrive at the corresponding expired or current Śaka.

But the date in the Morvi plate is almost fatal to Mr. Fleet's conjecture. It is put down as 585 expired and corresponds, as determined from the solar eclipse mentioned in the grant, to 826

Śaka expired. Thus we have here to add 241 to this expired year of the Gupta era, to arrive at the corresponding expired Śaka year; while since Mr. Fleet adds 241 current Gupta year to arrive at it, he will have to add 242 in this case. The Gupta date will thus, according to his view, be equivalent to Śaka 827 past. But in that year also there was a solar eclipse. This occurred on the new moon day of Vaiśākha according to the Southern scheme or of Jyestha according to the Northern, in the Śaka year 827 expired and 828 current. The grant was executed on the bright half of Phālguna in the same Gupta year 585, which of course must, like that given above, be an expired year; so that according to Mr. Fleet's view the charter was issued nine months and four days after the religious gift had been made. But if we take the solar eclipse of 826 expired and 827 current to be the one alluded to in the grant, it occurred on the new moon day of Kārttika according to the Southern and of Mārgaśīrṣa according to the Northern scheme, and thus the charter was issued three months and four days after the religious gift. This therefore is much more likely to be the eclipse mentioned in the grant, and if so, we have to add 241 to an expired not current—Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding Śaka expired.¹

Mr. Fleet makes every endeavour to throw discredit on this date. The eclipse of Saka 826 expired he considers to be not as satisfactory as that of 827 expired, because on that occasion only the twenty-fifth part of the Sun's disc was obscured at Morvi, while on this, one ninth. But the religious significance of it, which alone led the king to make his grant, is the same for all solar eclipses, whatever the extent of the obscuration. So that this consideration has no force whatever in the decision of the question.

Again, in three different places in his book he discusses in detail the reading *Gaupte* and the grammar and sense of the

1 The eclipse adopted by Mr. Fleet was the only one found for me by the late Prof. K. L. Chhatre, when I wrote my note. Though of course a general agreement of the details in the dates with Alberuni's equation, which had been discredited by some previous writers, was alone what I wanted to establish, and that object was served by Prof. Chhatre's eclipse, still I found it very inconvenient, and have therefore expressed myself very hypothetically about its bearing on the point.

word (p 21, 97ff. Intro. and p 58). He finds that in the facsimile of the Morvi plate published in the Indian Antiquary, one stroke on the top of the letter g in the word Gaupte is wanting, so that he reads it Gopte. Now I have no definite recollection whether when I read the plate I found this stroke ; but I think it did exist there, for I had no difficulty whatsoever in making out the word Gaupte, just as I had none in making out the word paurvva the p of which has two strokes in the ninth line. The very small stroke which makes au of o may have dropped away in the facsimile. In fact, the probability that it existed is very great, amounting almost to a certainty, since my corrections I have enclosed within brackets, and if Gaupte had been a correction for Gopte, I should have enclosed it similarly. In the third line the stroke is also wanting on the letter n of Svarbbhānau and also the upper stroke representing r. However, for the present there is no help and we must take the word as Mr. Fleet would have it and read it as Gopte. But it stands to reason, even supposing that to be the true reading of the plate, that it could be meant for nothing else but Gaupte. Mr. Fleet thinks that it may have been intended for Goptre ' to the protector, ' i e, ' the local governor ' and this he thinks is ' even more sustainable ' (p 2 , Intr and p 58 note) So then, according to Mr. Fleet, this grant of land was made to the governor of the province and not to the Brahmans of the Maitrāyāniya Śākhā mentioned above as the grantees. Was he to perform the religious ceremonies for which it was given ?

Or Gopte may be the name of a village, he thinks ; and the sense then would be " the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gopta. " But has he seen such charters spoken of as having been given at villages without some such expression as that the king was at that time residing in the village ? Besides we should in such a case expect the word Grāma ' village ' affixed to Gopte. This village Mr. Fleet identifies with Gop which he says is the name of a village in Kathiawar. Gopta according to him " may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gop. " (p 58 Note). But ancient Gopta must by the rules of Prakrit philology be changed to Gotta and not Gop, or according to a more modern process, to Gopat, Gopit or Goput ; but as the Gujaratis have a predilection for a, it must become Gopat.

Again, Mr. Fleet says — (1) "Even then (i. e., when we correct Gopte to Gaupte), the adjective Gaupte occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, Śatapañcake, which it qualifies (p 98, l. 8ff). (2) 'But even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, pañcaka, which it qualifies.'" (p. 21, II. 23-24). If Mr. Fleet's criticism is just, all our great Sanskrit authors will have to be considered unskilful composers. The śloka is

Pañcāsityā yute' tte Samānām Śatapañcake |
Gaupte dadāvado * * * *

What Mr. Fleet means to say is that if you have an adjective at the beginning of the second half of a Śloka, while the substantive which it qualifies is at the end of the first half, it is an irregularly detached place which any skilful composer will avoid; and if the substantive is further off it is of course worse. But in the Bhagavadgītā we have

* * * mahatīm camūn |
Vyudhām Drupadaputrena &c. || I. 3;
* * * Prakṛtim viddhi me parām |
Jivabhūtām Mahābāho &c || vii. 5.

In Manu we have

Esa vo'bhihito dharmo brāhmanasya caturvidhah |
Punyo' ksayaphalah &c || VI. 97;
Āptāḥ sarvesu varṇeṣu kāryāḥ karyeṣu Sāksinaḥ |
Sarvadharmavidō' lubdhāḥ &c || VIII. 67

In Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa we have

* * * patyuh prāgvamśavāsinaḥ |
Ananyajāneḥ saivāsīd &c || XV. 61;
Sa dadarśa tapnidhim | anvāsitam Arundhatyā &c || 1-56.

And instances might be multiplied to any extent. Mr. Fleet's objection therefore is simply imaginary. If arguments such as these are allowable, what is there to prevent their being used against the reading Gaupte also, supposing we were to find the plate again and actually to see the word there. Even as against that you might say that the adjective is in an irregularly detached place and that Gaupte must be the name of a village.

In spite, however, of criticism of this nature, there can be no question that the date of the Morvi grant as a Gupta date is as reliable as any of the others given above, and as it is more reasonable to take the eclipse therein mentioned as the one that occurred in Śaka 826 expired than as that of 827 expired, it shows that we have to add 241 to a completed—not current—Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding complete Śaka year, and that Mr. Fleet's theory has no basis whatever to stand on.

The third of the above dates, 927 Valabhi, corresponds, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, to 1167 Śaka expired. Here we have to add 240 to the Gupta Valabhi year instead of 241 and the date presents a serious difficulty. Mr. Fleet has shown that the Gupta Valabhi year did not begin on the first of Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa¹ and takes the 1st of Caitra as its initial date like that of the Śaka year, and it is to a current year according to that reckoning that we have to add 241 to convert it into the corresponding Śaka year completed. But the Gupta Valabhi year in this Inscription, he thinks, began like the Southern Vikrama year, with the first of Kārttika. The month given in the Inscription is Phālguna which is one of the months that follow Kārttika. The year of the Inscription he supposes became 927 on the 1st of Kārttika; and before that it was 926 (and would have

1 Mr. Fleet proves the point with reference to these two months only from the initial dates of some of the cyclic years. But it can be proved generally that the Gupta and the Śaka year began in the same month or the same day more easily. When the years of two eras do not begin on the same day, we have to add a certain number to the year expressed in one during one part of the year to convert it to the corresponding year of the other, and add the same number increased by one during the other part. Thus Śaka 1810 on this side of the country had 78 added to it from 1st Caitra to about the end of Mārgaśīrṣa and 79 thereafter up to the end of Phālguna to convert it to the corresponding Christian year. The day in the Era Gupta date is Āśāḍha, ś. 13, in that of Veraval, Āṣāḍha kṛ. 13, in those with the cyclic years, Kārttika ś. 3, Caitra ś. 2, Māgha kṛ. 3, and Caitra ś. 13, and the Morvi grant, Phālguna ś. 5, and in all these cases we have to add 241 to convert the year to the corresponding Śaka past and not 242 in any case upto the 12th month from Caitra. Hence the Gupta and the Śaka years began in the same month, and since we have Caitra ś. 2 in one case and Chaitra ś. 13 in another, on the same day, as the Śaka year begins on the 1st of Caitra,

continued to be 926,) till Phālguna had it not been for this Southern reckoning. With this 926 we have no difficulty, for by adding 241 to it we get 1167. But in the other Veraval Inscription of Valabhi 945 the reckoning is according to Mr. Fleet himself distinctly Northern, that is, the Gupta Valabhi year there given was one that began like the Śāka on the 1st of Caitra. How is it possible then that at the same place about 18 years before, the southern Vikrama scheme should have been applied to the Gupta Valabhi date of this Inscription?

Mr. Fleet answers the question by saying, " the explanation, however is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the Inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarat, who had brought a Gujarat almanac with him " That is supposing too much indeed, to save a theory. The Inscription was prepared under the direction of (1) a pilgrim, (2) a pilgrim from Gujarat, and moreover (3) a pilgrim who had brought a Gujarat almanac ! We have no right whatever to make any one of these suppositions without a particle of evidence to support it, much less the three together

According to my view, the discrepancy in the date can easily be reconciled. I have shown in my second note and mentioned above, that though dates are very often given in completed years, still sometimes they are given in current years. If in accordance with the evidence of this usage we suppose that 927 was the current year, the expired year is 926 ; and by adding 241 to it we get the corresponding year 1167 expired, arrived at by the astronomical calculation. This explanation will not agree with Mr. Fleet's theory ; for he adds 241 to a current Gupta-Valabhi to arrive at a completed Śāka. Here then, there is another piece of evidence that favours my view and goes entirely against Mr. Fleet's view

The same is the case with the fourth date. Valabhi $330 + 240 = 570$. Mr Fleet has to suppose a change of the original reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhi year and make it begin in this case on the 1st of Kārttika. But if we take 330 as the current year, 329 as the completed year, we have $329 + 241 = 570$, where we apply Alberuni's equation,

The question then stands thus:—We have to add 241, the equation given by Alberuni, to the date-years in Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2 and 5, and in the four in which Samvatsaras of the twelve year cycle occur, to convert them to the corresponding completed Śaka year arrived at by the astronomical calculation. Mr. Fleet says the years in the Inscriptions are current, and the reason is that it is natural they should be so. My view is that they are expired years, and the reasons are :—

1st, the Hindu's usual, but not invariable, idea of a date ;

2nd, the usage proved by me formerly for the Śaka dates and now for the Vikrama dates, though this era is not used for astronomical processes ;

3rd, the unlikelihood of Alberuni's using the expired year in giving the Śaka date, and the current year in giving the corresponding Gupta date, and the proper interpretation of Alberuni's statement ;

4th, the eclipse mentioned in the Morvi grant when identified with that of 826 Śaka expired confirms my view and disproves Mr. Fleet's. If, however, it is identified with that of 827 Śaka expired, it strengthens Mr. Fleet's view and weakens mine, but cannot disprove it against the mass of other positive evidence. And my identification is more reasonable and natural, since in that case the interval between the gift and the issuing of the charter is three months and four days, while it is nine months and four days according to Mr Fleet's identification.

5th, the date No. 3 above admits of an easy explanation in harmony with known usage according to my theory ; according to Mr. Fleet's theory most improbable suppositions have to be made. The same is the case with date No. 4.

Thus, the whole weight of the evidence is decidedly in my favour ; and thus the Gupta year to which we add 241 to arrive at an expired Śaka year is a past year, i e., THE ADDITION OF 241 TURNS A PAST GUPTA INTO A PAST ŚAKA AND A CURRENT GUPTA INTO A CURRENT ŚAKA. And thus Gupta 0 expired, i. e., 1 current, corresponds to Śaka 241 expired and 242 current ; and the year previous to Gupta 0 expired or 1 current corresponds to Śaka 240 expired i. e., 241 current ; and thus the EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

is 318-19 A. D. and NOT 319-20 A. D. as determined by Mr Fleet, and its first year was 319-20 A. D.

Mr. Fleet claims for his Mandasor Inscription "the final settlement of the question" of the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhi era. I am of opinion that if Alberuni's statement and Colonel Tod's Veraval Inscription do not settle it, the Mandasor Inscription cannot. For the date 493 occurring in that Inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Malavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know. In that unknown year 493, reigned Kumāragupta as a paramount sovereign. His average date is 113 of an unknown era, so that the equation is $113 \pm x$ (years of the Christian era) = $493 \pm y$ (years of the Christian era), that is, we have to determine the value of one unknown quantity, by means of another unknown quantity which cannot be done. If, however, we know the value of x , i. e., the epoch of the Gupta era, we shall from that determine that of y , i. e., the epoch of the Mālava era, and vice versa.

Dr. Peterson, referring to Oldenberg and myself, held it to be already certain that the Gupta era began in 319 A. D. and arrived therefore at the conclusion that the Mālava era was the Vikrama era¹ Mr Fleet assumes the truth of the latter and arrives from it at the epoch of the former (p 125, Intr.). But if we do not know either we can come to no conclusion. However, so much can be said in favour of Mr. Fleet's view, that of the hypothetical proposition 'if the Malava era is the Vikrama era, then the Gupta era began about 319 A. D.', the antecedent clause is probably true. Thus the Mandasor Inscription, at the most, adds to the probability of the statement that the Gupta era began in 319-320, but cannot confer certainly on it, if it did not possess it before, i. e., cannot finally settle the question. It is settled by the statement of Alberuni and by Colonel Tod's Inscription, and the details in some of the

1 It is hardly fair to Dr. Peterson that Mr. Fleet should have made no allusion whatever to the fact that he (Dr. Peterson) had read the Mandasor Inscription before him, and had quoted the verse in which the date is given showing that we have in it a Vikrama date before 544 A. D., and that Fergusson's theory must be abandoned.

other Inscriptions confirm the conclusion arrived at therefrom, that is, are consistent with it and do not go against it.

But Alberuni's authority had been set aside and the information given by Colonel Tod's Inscription had been misconstrued; and the current of opinion that had set in against the true epoch of the era as derived from these two sources was so strong that many scholars had come to believe that the initial date 166-67 A. D. assigned to the era by General Cunningham was true. I therefore endeavoured in my note on the Gupta era to draw attention again to these two sources, and show how the question was not left doubtful at all by them, and how the information derived from them was consistent with all that we knew about the Gupta and the other dynasties of the early centuries of the Christian era. The details of the dates in some of the Inscriptions I went into, only with the object of showing that they were not opposed to the information derived from Alberuni and the Veraval Inscription I used General Cunningham's Tables of the years of the twelve year cycle; and though in two of the four cases, and in one more with a corrected date, I arrived at the conclusion wanted, still I forgot that the Christian years in General Cunningham's tables were arrived at by uniformly adding 78 to an expired Saka year, while I added 79 because it suited the purpose. General Cunningham's Tables, I find, do not give the cyclic years mentioned in the four Inscriptions.

Mr Fleet has gone fully into the details of all the Inscriptions with the assistance of the competent and zealous Hindu astronomer, Mr. Shankar B. Dikshit, and has materially contributed to the elucidation of the question, by bringing together and verifying the whole evidence; and though I can not agree with him in several of his conclusions, or approve of his treatment of the most vital matters, still the materials that he has placed before us deserve our acknowledgment. I must, however, observe with reference to Mr Dikshit's theory of cyclic years reckoned from one helical rising of Jupiter to another with unequal divisions of the Naksatras, that though it agrees with the four Inscriptions and gives the correct Samvatsaras, still it is a question whether an astronomical year of 400 days that did not correspond with the usual luni-solar year, could have been used for the purposes of recording dates by ordinary people.

A NOTE ON DR. FLEET'S TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION
OF THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION.

In connection with the examination of the claims of the Mandasor Inscription I have had to read Mr. Fleet's transcript and translation of it and find the following errors and omissions in both :—

P. 84, ll 5-6 of translation—Mr. Fleet translates शापप्रसादक्षमे by "able to counteract curses" Now this is one adjective of मुनिभिः or 'saints' who are spoken of as "rich in strict religious austerities" (तपितपोधनैः). To such it is usual in Sanskrit literature and according to Hindu ideas to attribute the power of injuring or destroying one by a curse, and doing good by benedictions. The simple power of counteracting a curse is too low for them. Hence the proper translation is "able to curse and confer favours" 'able to injure by a curse and confer favours by a blessing.'

P 84. ll 25-26. We have here "decorative ear ornaments," which is a translation of मण्डवनेस taken as in apposition with तरु in the compound पुष्पावनमनरुमण्डवनेसकायाः which qualifies वृम. Ear ornaments are always decorative and it involves a tautology to call them decorative again. Besides, though the Dictionaries give "ornament" as one of the senses of मण्ड, still it is not the usual sense of the word मण्डन is what we find in that sense. On looking into the photolithograph of the Inscription I find that मण्ड must be read as खण्ड. The letter which Mr. Fleet reads as म is more like the last letter in the third line of the Inscription and thirteenth in the seventh line, each of which is ख. The upper vertical stroke to the right hand of the loop of the letter looks far different from the real म which we have in many places. तरुखण्ड is an expression that frequently occurs and means 'a collections of trees;' so that the whole expression means 'which has for ear ornaments, the collection of trees weighed down with flowers.'

P. 85, ll. 8ff Mr Fleet here translates "other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of Kailāsa, * * (and) being adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees." Being curious to know, when I first read it, what these long buildings on the roofs of the

houses, adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees could be, I turned to the transcript and found that here Mr. Fleet has mis-translated the expression दीर्घबलमीनि which occurs in the half-stanza कैलासगुहशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभ्यानि दीर्घबलमीनि सवेदिकानि at the end of the sixth line of the Inscription. He takes दीर्घबलमीनि as a Karmadhāraya, अन्यानि as an adjective qualifying it, and makes it the nominative of the word आभान्ति. But बलमि is feminine, never neuter; and still it is so here according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it. Besides, when अन्यानि is connected with the long Valabhis, the question arises why does he speak of these long buildings on the roofs of houses as 'other'. Did he speak of them in the last Śloka? No. दीर्घबलमीनि should be taken as a Bahuvrīhi meaning दीर्घा बलमयो यान्ति those 'in which there are long rooms on the roof,' and construed as an adjective of गृहाणि occurring in the last stanza, and to be understood or supplied here in connection with the word अन्यानि. And so we have, 'And other (houses) having long rooms on the roofs are beautiful, &c being adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees' बलमि is, according to Jagaddhara, सौधोपरिकुटि 'a room on the top of a palace,' such a one as that from the window of which Mālatī used to see Mādhava passing by the road below. The groves of waving plaintain trees were thus not in the rooms on the roof but in the houses which had these rooms.

P. 85, ll. 19-20. The word बुद्धि- in ll. 2-3, p. 82 (transcript) has not been translated. Freedom "from the excitement of surprise" was according to Mr. Fleet's translation, one of the virtues of the Brahmans of Daśapura. Similarly, "being never carried away by "astonishment" was a virtue in Bandhuvarman, l. 20, p. 86. Now, freedom from surprise or astonishment is never found in the catalogue of the possible virtues of a hero; but freedom from arrogance or humility is; and the word translated by Mr. Fleet as "surprise" in one place and "astonishment" in another is स्वदिने: in the one case, and स्वय in the other. He would have found from any ordinary Dictionary that स्वय means 'pride' or 'arrogance' also, and that is its usual sense. Has Mr. Fleet not seen at all the first line of the second or opening stanza of Bhartrhari's Vairāgya Śāṭaka बोद्धारो मत्सत्प्रस्ताः प्रभवः स्वयद्विनाः । ?

P. 85 l. 24. Here Mr. Fleet in his translation speaks of the

science of archery as pleasing to the ear. Though he supplies "in which the twanging of the bow is", between "archery" and "pleasing" still this is by no means proper and cannot be. In the transcript Mr Fleet's reading of the line with his corrections is भवणसुभगे धातुर्वैद्यं वृद्धं परिनिष्ठिताः । and his translation "Some of them (became) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery pleasing to the ear". Here Mr. Fleet supplies the Anusvāra on ग the आ in धा, and Anusvāra on य, and thus brings in an accusative which is not governed by anything and is therefore ungrammatical. What is stated in the stanza is that some of the emigrants to Dasapura devoted themselves to a certain calling, some to another, and so on. In this line as read by Mr. Fleet there is no word which expresses 'some'. Still he begins his translation of it by "some of them" without enclosing the expression within brackets to show that it is supplied by him. Without such an expression the line looks awkward; and it cannot be supplied or understood by the rules of grammar. All these difficulties, however, disappear when we have the true reading of the original Inscription before us. That true reading is भवणसुभगे गान्धर्वैर्ये वृद्धं परिनिष्ठिताः । The वृ of सुभगे is not distinct. Mr. Fleet's य is distinctly य in the photograph, and the left hand stroke representing र is also visible though it is not distinct; so that this is ये. What he reads as धा is distinctly गा with the आ traceable though not distinct; his वृ is distinctly य; and his वै is वै, the second stroke necessary for वै being wanting. The र on ग is not distinct, but it must have originally existed in the little white space above which represents a flaw in the stone. If we compare the present word with गान्धर्व which occurs in the beginning of the seventh line and which Mr. Fleet has read properly, we shall have no doubt whatever that the true reading is that given by me. And now the sense is also right, for it is this—"Some were thoroughly conversant with Music (the art of Gandharvas) which is agreeable to the ear".

P. 85, l. 31. Being "possessed of charming wives" appears in Mr. Fleet's translation as one of the excellences of some of the settlers in Dasapura, along with wisdom and famous lineage. This could scarcely be an excellence in them, at least it is not so, according to Indian notions. Besides मनोन्ययचक्षुः which is Mr. Fleet's

reading is quite ungrammatical. As a Bahuvrīhi adjective qualifying अन्ये it ought to be मनोजवका by Pāṇini V. 4. 153. This reading therefore is not correct. But the word is illegible in the copy of the Inscription; and I cannot say for certain what it must be. It may be मनोजवकः 'having charming bodies or forms' or मनोजविमलः 'possessed of pleasing prosperity'. The former is more probable.

P. 85, ll. 36-37. शुद्धिः in the second Pāda and the whole third Pāda सङ्कलनिलकषुतेतुङ्कागिरहारेः । of a stanza in line 11 of the Inscription have not been translated.

P. 86, l. 13. Here we have "who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and distressed." Virtue consists in fulfilling one's promise to every body, and not to persons in certain conditions only. Besides, it is not the fulfilment of a promise made to them that we should expect to find spoken of in connection with the miserable and the afflicted. Mr Fleet's reading which he thus translates is कृपणनिवर्गमन्याप्रदो. He does not find the अ of सन्या in the original, but supplies it. सन्याप्रद cannot mean "he who fulfils his promise." If it is a Sanskrit expression at all, it can only mean 'one who gives promises' So that there is clearly some mistake here. If now we turn to the copy of the Inscription, we shall find clearly न्व for Mr. Fleet's न्व; so that the word is सान्व. सान्वप्रद is 'one who brings solace,' so that what the prince did was 'to bring solace to the miserable and the afflicted.'

P. 86, ll. 32-33. Mr Fleet reads in line 17 of the Inscription, रामासनापरचने as an adjective of काले. As such the expression is unintelligible. For, 'it being necessary to take it as a Bahuvrīhi, it can only be dissolved as रामाभिः सनाथा रचना यस्मिन् i. e. 'that in which a [certain] arrangement or system is accompanied by women.' This means nothing. What arrangement can that be? What Mr. Fleet reads as च is clearly च. र is supplied by him as the letter is effaced in the original, but, certainly we can as well supply न and read the expression रामासनाचमचने i. e., 'that [time] in which there are lovely women in the house,' i. e. when there is no separation between husband and wife.

Mr. Fleet translates the next expression उष्मात्कराग्नयद्भिप्रतापमुभये by, "which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the

rays of the sun (shining) in the glens." Is the sun agreeably warm in the cold weather in the glens only, and nowhere else? Why should the word 'glens' be used then? The fact is 'Mr. Fleet forgets that वर means ईषत् 'little,' 'in a small degree,' 'moderate.' The sense of the expression will thus be 'which is agreeable with the moderated heat of the fire of the rays of the sun.' And that the heat is moderated in the cold weather everybody knows.

P. 87, ll. 9-10 Mr. Fleet speaks here of "the close embrace of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love". So, then, the breasts of young men were bulky, plump, and beautiful! Acquaintance with the descriptive manners and ideas of Sanskrit authors is not necessary to enable one to see that there is something wrong here. But if he does possess that, he will at once see that this must be a description of women and not of men as well. The original expression is स्मरवशात्तनूजयनवल्गुभाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोरुस्तनजघननालिकुञ्ज, which is equivalent to स्मरवशात्ता ये तनूजयनास्तैर्वल्गुभाङ्ग ता अङ्गनाश्च तासां विपुलकान्तपीनाभ्युरुस्तनजघनानि तेषां घनमालिकुञ्जम् । It is the young men who are "completely under the influence of love", and it is they who embrace the thighs, breasts and hips, of their beloved wives, which are bulky, beautiful, and plump. In पीनोरु, the latter part must be taken as ऊरु meaning 'a thigh', and not ऊरु in the sense of 'bulky,' as Mr. Fleet takes it. You have thus three limbs spoken of, those which are principally the object of description in the case of women, and there are three adjectives to qualify them, to be taken in order. Or the three adjectives might be taken as qualifying each one of the three limbs.

I must here complain that a good many photo-lithographs of the Inscriptions in Mr. Fleet's Volume are illegible and consequently of little use to scholars who wish to examine the Inscriptions for themselves.

NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were ready for the Press, I had occasion to look into my old papers, when unexpectedly I found two impressions of the Morvi plate taken by Dr. Burgess by beating

a slip of thin and soft paper, a little moistened, into the letters by means of a small brush. In these impressions, I do find an indentation on the left hand side of ण, which is the twelfth letter in the fourth line from the bottom, and a small faintly indented curve connecting it with the upper left hand side flourish of the letter, showing that the second stroke necessary for the syllable णे did exist in the plate. There is thus no question whatever that the true reading is गौणे. As the original plate is not forth-coming, I have asked Dr. Peterson to take charge of these impressions as Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society's Museum, where they will be available for inspection.

A SECOND NOTE ON THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XLII, 1913, pp. 199f.]

In my article on the epoch of the Gupta era published in Jour. Bom. As. Soc., Vol. XVII¹, I have stated, "the date 493 occurring in that (Mandasor) Inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Mālavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know." The impression of a new Inscription recently discovered at Mandasor, prepared by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Department and shown to me by him, enables me to make a contribution towards an elucidation of the point. The verse giving the date is thus worded :—

आमालवगणानां प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।
एकषष्टवधिके प्राप्ति समशानवत्तुह्ये ॥

The translation is :—"the excellent quaternion of hundreds of years increased by sixty-one laid down authoritatively by the Mālava-gana and named Kṛta having arrived." The word Āmnāta means 'laid down'—authoritatively of course,—since what is Āmnāta is to be treated with respect and scrupulously followed. In समाज्ञायः समाज्ञानः the sense is : the Samāmnāya (Nighantus or thesaurii) has been laid down (Nirukta I 1). Similarly we are told in I. 20, that the later Rsis 'samāmnāsisuh,' i. e. laid down authoritatively or composed this work, and the Vedas and the subordinate treatises. In सप्तशतव्याख्यात (Vedāntasūtra 1 4. 25) Āmnāta has the same sense. In the present case, therefore, the sense is : the year 461 has arrived which has been laid down authoritatively by the Gana of the Mālavas. This authoritative laying down cannot be predicated of this one year only but of all previous and subsequent years. If these years were laid down by the Gana, they must either be so by their having composed a long list, or directed that the years following a certain event should be

1 Now included in this Volume earlier, at pp. 384 ff. The quotation would be found on p. 398 ante —[N. B. U.]

ordinally numbered. Since a list must go on ad infinitum, i. e., be interminable, the former supposition cannot be accepted. The Gana of the Mālavas, therefore, must be supposed to have directed the use of an era beginning with a certain specific event. What must be the specific event? Light is thrown on this point by the following verse in Yaśodharman's Inscription at Mandasor :—

पञ्चसु शतेषु शतदां यानेध्वेकाक्षनवतिसहस्रेषु ।

मल्लिवगणस्थितिवशात् कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥

“Five hundred and eighty-nine years written down for the purpose of knowing the time in consequence (ablative) of the moment [moving cause or impelling force (*Vaśa*)] of the condition as a Gana or compact political body of the Mālavas having elapsed” That the word *Vaśa* should be understood as the moment or impelling cause is confirmed by the manner in which the date is given in Bandhuvārman's Mandasor Inscription. The words are :—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याने शतचतुष्टये ।

त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानाम् . . . ॥

The sense is : “four hundred and ninety-three years having elapsed since the condition (i. e., formation) of the Mālavas as a Gana.” *Ganasthityā* is to be taken as an ablative, the *Visarga* having been dropped in consequence of the following soft consonant. This then was an era, the impelling cause of which was the *Sthiti* of the Mālavas as a Gana, that is, it was the era of the formation of the Mālavas as a Gana, i. e., their forming a body corporate or body politic.

The Mālavas were originally a tribe which followed the occupation of fighting. They were soldiers by profession, and could enter any body's service as such, and did not form a Gana or an incorporated society for political and other purposes. *Yājñavalkya*, speaking of a person who takes away the wealth of a Gana, necessarily implies that a Gana is a corporate community with common property and common interest (II. 187). Occurring side by side in *ibid* II. 192 with *Śreni* a guild, and *Naigama* or a body of merchants trading with foreign countries, Gana must mean a body corporate of persons following the same occupation such as that of fighting (*Vijñāneśvara* and *Aparārka*).

I translate *Ganasthiti* as existence or condition as a *Gana*. It should be taken as a *Karmadhāraya* or appositional compound (गणश्चासौ स्थितिश्च, i. e. गणात्मिका or गणरूपा स्थितिः). It cannot be taken as गणस्य स्थितिः. For in *Bandhuvarman's* Inscription the expression मालवानां गणस्थितिः would in that case involve what is called *Ekadeśi anvaya*, or the latter part would be a *Sāpekṣa* compound, i. e., *Mālavānām* would have to be connected with *gana*, i. e., the first or subordinate part of the following compound and not with *Sthiti*, the principal part, as it should be. When we take the compound as a *Karmadhāraya*, *Mālavānām* is to be connected with *Sthiti* which is the principal noun as qualified by the word *Gana*.

A *Gana* or a corporate and political union the *Mālavas* constituted in B. C. 56, and laid down authoritatively (*Āmnāta*) that that event should be commemorated by making it the epoch of an era. I now proceed to shown by direct evidence what the condition of *Mālavas* was in ancient times and how it changed subsequently as indicated by the Inscriptions we have gone over.

In an article in this Journal,² Vol I, p. 23, I have stated that Alexander the Great met in Central and Lower Punjab two tribes of warriors named *Malii* and *Oxydraæ*. From *Pānini's Sūtra* V. 3. 114, and from the instances given by his commentators, it appears that in the Punjab there existed in ancient times two tribes of the names of *Mālavas* and *Ksudrakas* who are called *Āyudhajivins*, i. e., sustaining themselves by the use of warlike weapons, in other words, who followed a soldierly profession. Under the *Sūtra* IV. 2. 45, *Patañjali* discusses why *Ksudraka* and *Mālava* are included in the group 'Khandikā' and others, and in the course of the discussion, he and the *Kāśikā* mention that these two tribes belong to the *Ksatriya* order—he, impliedly, and *Kāśikā* expressly. Since the two names occur in the group and as it is reasonable to suppose that the first three words of a group at least come down from *Pānini* himself, *Ksudrakas* and *Mālavakas* were known to *Pānini* himself.

The *Mālavas* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* also, sometimes among northern peoples (II. 32. 7; III. 51 26); and sometimes

² That is, the *Indian Antiquary*.—[N. B. U]

among Southern, with Dāksinātyas and Āvantyas (VI. 87. 6-7). It also mentions westerly (Praticya) and northerly (Udicya) Mālavas (VII. 7. 15; VI. 106. 7). Varāhamihira too places the Mālavas among the Northern peoples inhabiting the Punjab (Br. S. 14. 27). In speaking of a man of the name of Mālavya he represents him to be ruling over Mālava, Bharukaccha, Surāstra, etc. (Br. S. 69. 10-12); so that the Mālava country is here alluded to as occupying the same position as it does in modern times. Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta carries his cloud-messenger over the country now named Malwa but does not give that name; and mentions Daśārṇas, Vidiśā, Avantī, Ujjayinī, and Daśapura.

So that it is clear that according to these authorities the Mālavas in ancient times lived in the North, that is, in the Punjab and that they subsequently migrated southwards. While in the Punjab, they were simply āyudhajīvins or professional soldiers, and do not seem to have formed a political union. Their migration to the south and settlement in the region just to the north of the present Malwa in the modern state of Jaipur is evidenced by a very large number of coins found at Nagar near Tonk. Most of these bear the legend 'Mālavānām jaya' and some 'Mālavaganasya jaya.' The very fact that coins were issued proclaiming the triumph of the Mālavas or the Mālava-gana, shows that at the time when they were issued, the Mālavas had already constituted themselves into a political unit with a regular system of Government. That system appears to have been republican and not monarchical; since the legends on the coins bear the name of the tribe and its Gana. Probably afterwards the names of the leaders of the Republic were engraved on the money that was issued, and perhaps in the course of time, the Republic was succeeded by a Monarchy. The Mālavas gradually moved southwards and gave their name to the whole country now called Malwa.

Another instance of a race moving from the South to the north¹ and giving their name to the countries they occupied from time to time is that of Gūrjaras. They first settled

¹ Thus the text. But it is evident that we have to read here "from the North to the South." See immediately below. [N. B. U.]

in Punjab and a district of that Province is called Gujarata to this day. Then they migrated southwards by western Rajaputana which was formerly called Gūrjaratrā or the protector of the Gūrjaras. This name, however, that part of the country soon lost, and in the form of Gujarat it was transferred to a southern province which is now called by that name.

The years of the era founded by the Mālava republican body had the name Krta given to them according to the new Inscription, and there are two dates at least in which the years are given with the epithet Krtesu prefixed to them. In the absence of any specific information we can only suppose that they were called Krta, because they were "made or prepared" for marking dates by the Mālava government.

A MEMORANDUM ON SOME ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS
FOUND IN A MOUND AND IN THE BRAHMAPURI
HILL, NEAR KOLHAPUR.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society, Volume XIV, 1880, pp. 147ff.]

(The paper was read before the Society on 9th November 1878)

The stone box found at Kolhapur contained a casket made of crystal. This casket must have contained a relic. Such caskets of relics placed in stone receptacles of various shapes are found in Buddhistic Stūpas or topes in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan. In the topes Nos 2 and 3 at Sanchi, the receptacles found by General Cunningham were stone boxes of the same shape as the one before us (see his *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 286 and 297); while those discovered by him at Manikyal in the Punjab and at Kiyul in Behar had the shape of a Stūpa (see *Arch. Reports*, vol. II, p. 167, and vol. III, p. 157). The caskets found at Manikyal and in a tope at Sonari, near Bhilsa, were, like the Kolhapur one, made of crystal, those at Kiyul of gold and silver, while those at Sanchi of steatite. The mound, therefore, at Kolhapur, which contained this receptacle of a relic-casket, must have an old Stūpa buried in it about that part where the receptacle was found, and this is confirmed by the fact of the workmen who dug this out having come across some brickwork while they were doing so. The whole mound itself cannot, I think, be the Stūpa; for while the diameter of the mound is about eighty feet, its height is only about eight. Even making allowance for the possibility of the Stūpa's having sunk into the earth, the diameter is out of proportion to the height. Very likely, therefore, along with a Stūpa some other structures, such as Vihāras or chapels and cells for the Buddhist mendicants, of the nature of those found by General Cunningham at Jamalgarhi (*Arch. Reports*, vol. V, p. 47), are buried in the mound.

The articles found in the Brahmapuri Hill contain amongst them objects of Buddhistic adoration, and also what may be called

the apparatus of Buddhistic worship. We have an image of a Stūpa or Caitya, several circular things which look like prayer-wheels, and a flower or incense pot. Along with these, a number of old copper or lead coins were also found, and of these twenty have been presented to the Society. The metallic vessel which contained these articles was, we are told, found between "two brick walls about eight feet apart" These must be the walls of a hollow paralleliped, or a well such as was found by General Ventura in the great tope at Manikyal, at a distance of twelve feet from the top. The depth of this well was thirteen feet, and its length and breadth ten; that is, the walls of the well were ten feet apart. At its bottom was found a copper vessel, just like the Kolhapur one, containing coins, a gold ring, and other articles (see Mr. Thomas's ed. of Prinsep, vol. I, pp 93-96, and Arch. Reports, vol V, pl. xxii.). I therefore think that the Brahmapuri hill also has a Stūpa buried in it at this place. From the fact that a hoard of coins was found in the vicinity of this some years ago, and from other indications, it appears that the Brahmapuri hill conceals the ruins of an old city. Everywhere in India we find such ruins in the form of mounds or hillocks; and in some places the new cities are built on these hillocks, that is, on the ruins of the old.

If excavations are made in other parts of the mound and the hill at Kolhapur, and deeper diggings at the places where the relic-box and the copper vessel were found, I have little doubt that traces of ancient buildings and several interesting articles will be found.

The characters on the lid of the casket-receptacle are older than those of the times of the later Āndhrabhrtyas, and are to be referred to the first or second century of the Christian era. The Inscription may be translated: "The gift of Bramha caused to be constructed by Dhamagutta (Dharmagupta)." This must refer to the Stūpa.

The coins sent to us are of two sizes, ten larger and ten smaller. On the obverse of the former we have a bow and an arrow, and round it the following legend गोतमीपुत्रस विदिवायकुरस, "Of the king Gotamīputa Vidivāyakura." The वि appears as सि in some of the specimens. On the reverse we have a Caitya composed of

rows of semi-circles with a tree on the right hand side, a Svastika above, and a pedestal below with a wavy or serpentine line. The Svastika is indistinct on some of the pieces. Of the smaller ones four bear the same legend as the above; but the tree on the reverse is above the Caitya, and the Svastika on the left side. The others bear the same device on the obverse and the reverse, but the legend on three of them is स्त्रो वासिठीपुत्रस विविवायकुरस "Of the king Vāsithiputa Vidivāyakura;" on two, स्त्रो मधरीपुत्रस सेवलकुरस "Of the king Madhariputa Sevalakura;" and that on one is imperfect. These coins belong to the same species as those described by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary for September 1877. The kings Gotamiputa, Vāsithiputa, and Madhariputa belonged to the Āndhrabhṛtya or Śātavāhana dynasty, and their names occur on the Inscriptions at Nasik, Kanheri, Nanaghata and Junnar. But the words or names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura do not occur either in the Inscriptions or on the coins found near Dharanikot, in Tailāngana, figured and described by Sir Walter Elliot in the Madras Literary Journal, vol. III, nor on those belonging to the same gentleman and described by Mr E. Thomas in the paper I have spoken of. The legends on the latter have, after Gotamiputasa, Siriyāñña Satakanisa, and after Vāsithiputasa, some letters which certainly must be read as Putumavisa. This name occurs independently without the words Vāsithiputasa on another coin in the same collection. The device of the Caitya occurs on the obverse of these, but instead of the Svastika we have a crescent on the top, and of the tree, a conch shell; while on the other side we have, instead of the bow and arrow, sometimes a horse, and sometimes four wheels joined by a cross. Clearly, then, the Eastern or Tailāngana series is different from the Western or Kolhapur series; and they must have been struck at different mints. As I have shown in my paper on the Nasik Inscriptions, the capital of the Āndhrabhṛtya kings was Dhanakataka, which General Cunningham has identified with Dharanikot, in Tailāngana, in the vicinity of which the Eastern coins were found. The Western, therefore, which are somewhat different from them in type, were probably struck on this side of the country

by the viceroys of those kings deputed to govern these provinces, and the names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura are probably the names of these viceroys, i. e., the legends bear the names of the kings as well as of their representatives in this part of the country. The number of coins of Gotamiputa is so large that he appears to me to be the later Gotamiputa, whose proper name was Yajñasri, and I agree with Pandit Bhagvanlal in thinking that Madhariputa was the son of Pudumayi or Vasithiputa, named Śivaśri in the Purānas.

The following correspondence regarding the place of discovery &c., of these Antiquarian Remains was published in the JBRRAS in a foot-note as a part of this paper.—[N. B. U]

No. 6686 OF 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 29th November 1877.

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

TO THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith copy of a letter from the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, No. 650, dated the 16th instant, and of its accompaniment, and to intimate that Colonel Schneider has been requested to send to you direct the stone box and the contents referred to by him.

2. The sketch alluded to in para 4 of the State Karbhari's letter is also appended.

I have &c,

(Signed) JOHN JARDINE

Acting Secretary to Government.

No. 650 OF 1877.

Political Agent's Office,

Kolhapur, 16th November, 1877

FROM COLONEL F SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

TO C. GONNE, Esq.,

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Karbhari of Kolhapur relating to a stone box found underground in one of the State gardens at Kolhapur, and to request that they may be for-

warded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information. The box and the contents will be sent to the Society direct on receipt of Government instructions.

I have &c,
(Signed) F SCHNEIDER
Political Agent,
Kolhapur and S. M. Country

No. 890 OF 1877.

FROM MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,
State Karbhari, Kolhapur.

TO COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent,
Kolhapur and S. M. Country

Kolhapur, 16th November, 1877

SIR,—I have the honour to submit a short report on the discovery of a stone box bearing an Inscription in the Māgadhi dialect, and holding in it a small casket made of a transparent stone or crystal Sphatika in the Kharala Garden, situated on the eastern slope of the town of Kolhapur. This interesting discovery took place on 27th October, 1877 under the following circumstances:

2 The ground about the little bungalow in the said garden is lately being put into order and, to make the place even, extra earth was required for filling up the gaps which lay here and there. The convicts who were engaged in preparing the ground were ordered to take the earth for this purpose from a small piece of rising ground which stood uncultivated at the distance of about 350 yards to the east of the bungalow, and which was shaded with a babul-tree grown over it. This rising ground was in the shape of a gently sloping irregular-shaped mound about eighty feet in diameter, its height nowhere exceeding seven or eight feet over the level of the adjoining fields. It was overgrown with grass, and appeared a proper place from whence to take supplies of earth required elsewhere. About a foot beneath the grassy surface, the spade encountered a layer of burnt bricks, which excited curiosity. Nothing extraordinary was at first expected, as burnt bricks are often discovered in several places in and about the town being the remnants of old brick clamps or mounds of ruined brick structure. In the course of digging, the convicts came to what appeared to be a block of stone, which they at once turned up by thrusting a crowbar under it. When it was extricated from the surrounding bricks it was found to be a box consisting of two pieces, one a hollow quadrangular stone trough of soft red laterite, as is found in the bed of the Paicaganga river here holding a small transparent crystalline casket within, and the other a lid of the same stone exactly filling the mouth of the trough. But unfortunately the act of extrication proved so violent that before it was discovered to be a box the lid fell off, and the inside transparent casket was thrown out, which broke into

two pieces. Its contents, if at all any, were evidently scattered about and lost, and escaped the sight of those present at the time. The circumstance was reported soon after, and I repaired to the spot and made the necessary inquiries. Some old letters were seen engraved on the inside of the lid, and a facsimile of the Inscription was made and sent to Mr. Bhagvanlal Pandit, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, who has considerable experience in deciphering old Inscriptions.

3. Mr. Pandit Bhagvanlal is of opinion that the Inscription is in Magadhi characters, and consists of the following words :—

ब्रह्मस दानं धर्मयुतेन करितं.

From the characters employed, the Inscription appears to be two thousand years old, or even older still, and seems to be a monument of the veneration in which the remains of Buddha were held by his followers long after the Nirvāṇa or decease of their great founder. The Nirvāṇa took place about 500 or 450 before the Christian era, and the remains were buried in four places, namely, (1) Kuśī Nagara, in the Gorakhpur District, where the dead body was burnt; (2) Gayā Ksetra, where Buddha received his education; (3) Benares or Kāśī Kṣetra, where he first proclaimed the tenets of his religion; and (4) Kapilavastu, in the Gorakhpur District, where he was born. Splendid tombs were constructed to protect these remains, but in the time of king Aśoka, about 225 years after Buddha, the devotional feeling ran so high, that the remains were taken out of the several tombs, and distributed among the numerous disciples scattered over the whole country. The fortunate receivers of these precious relics, which consisted generally of ashes or bones of the body of Buddha, carefully deposited their invaluable possessions in gold or marble caskets, which were securely placed in stone receptacles prepared for the purpose, the whole being protected by mounds of bricks or stones.

All these circumstances closely correspond with the particulars of the present discovery.

4. I beg to append a sketch of the ground with the bungalow standing on it, and of the mound wherein the box was discovered, also drawings of the box and of the little casket. Perhaps a careful reading of the above by Mr. Bhagvanlal Pandit, or some other gentlemen well versed in deciphering such hieroglyphics and Inscriptions, will throw more light on the subject; and I beg that this brief account may be submitted to Government, that the same may be referred to the Royal Asiatic Society.

5. The stone box and casket are well preserved, and kept here. A careful search was made in the brick mound and the surrounding ground, but nothing of any importance was discovered.

I have &c.

(Signed) MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,
State Karbhari, Kolhapur.

No. 7020 OF 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 18th December, 1877.

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

TO THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter (with accompaniments in original) from the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, No. 695, dated the 8th instant, together with the parcel of coins and other articles of antiquarian interest therein referred to, and to request that they may be brought to the notice of the President and Members.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN JARDINE,

Acting Secretary to Government.

No. 695 OF 1877.

FROM COLONEL F SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country,

TO JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Political Agent's Office, Kolhapur,

Shirol, 8th December, 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Karbhari of Kolhapur, regarding the discovery of old coins and other articles of antiquarian interest on the Brahamapuri Hill, near the town of Kolhapur, and to request that they may be forwarded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information.

2. The articles alluded to in the Karbhari's report have been sent by parcel post.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

No. 963 OF 1877.

From MAHADHO WASUDEO BARVE,

State Karbhari, Kolhapur.

To COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent,

Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

Kolhapur, 6th December, 1877.

SIR,—I have the honour to report the discovery of a copper vessel containing some lead and copper coins, metallic vessels, and articles of various sizes and shapes, and some gold beads and pieces of gold ornaments, which was found buried underground about six feet below the surface of the earth on the top of the Brahmapuri Hill, situated on the north-western side of the town of Kolhapur close to the river Pañcagangā. This treasure of old and interesting antiquities was found under the following circumstances.

2. There is a bridge under construction over this river, and the hill itself forms the eastern abutment side of it. Some cuttings in the hill were made about four years back, to provide easy approaches, and in one of these some lead and copper coins were then discovered, a few of which were at the time sent to the Royal Asiatic Society. For a few days past, some convicts have been at work here, effecting a further cutting for the wing walls of the hill-side abutment pier, and on the 22nd November 1877, in the course of digging, they came to some metallic vessel, which was afterwards carefully unearthed and extricated. The rim of the vessel was sunk inside under the pressure of the earth above it, and the pan had so far corroded, evidently owing to its being embedded in earth for centuries past, that its mouthpiece was found almost separated from the body. In the pan were found the undermentioned articles.—

- (a) Brass or Kāṁsa metal vessels of various shapes, such as are to be seen in old Jain temples in connection with idol-worship. Many of them, of the shape of saucers, are very thin and much oxidised and crumbled; others with ornamental mouldings on.
- (b) Several lead and copper coins having impressions on both sides quite like those that were found on the same hill in 1865 lead, 100 copper. 1873.
- (c) Amongst the mass of earth and coins were found some perforated beads of gold, and pieces of gold ear ornaments well worked up. The metal is found to be superior gold. The beads are composed of twelve concave sides each, and are hollow inside.

Cold beads, 33.

Piece of ornaments, 4.

3. The digging exposed some old brick work, and the copper pan was lying between two brick walls about eight feet apart, which probably formed part of some building of the time. The top of the hill was, it appears, once inhabited by certain people, which is evident from the brick structures that are discovered here and there. Tradition goes that the place was deserted about seven hundred years ago by the Jains as a place of residence, and the antiquities now found may have been the property of some party who had to give up his house abruptly and leave everything behind. He was probably a brazier, who made castings of such utensils. Some of those now discovered look as if they were simply taken out of the cast moulds and left unfinished. Close by, the pieces of some metallic vessel were unearthed subsequently. The metal is evidently copper, and a few pieces are herewith submitted.

4. I beg to append photographs of some of the vessels and pieces that were found entire, as also of the big pan, all of which were arranged for the purpose on a camp table, also drawings to transfer-linen of the same.

5. I beg also to forward ten coins of each sort, lead and copper, having the best impression on, and four gold beads and two pieces of the gold of the ear ornament. All the remaining articles are retained here for exhibition at the State Museum at the Town Hall¹

I have, &c.,

(Signed) MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE.

¹ The photographs, plans &c., referred to in this report, are not reproduced here. [N. B. U.]

REMARKS ON THE MERKARA COPPER- PLATE GRANT.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 365f.]

The genealogy of the kings of Cera as given in the grant is :—

1. Kongani I.
|
2. Mādhava I.
|
3. Hari Varmma.
|
4. Visnu Gopa.
|
5. Mādhava II.
|
6. Kongani II.

These names agree with the 8th to 12th and 15th given by Prof. Dowson from the Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie Collection. But the fifth in the above list is represented in the chronicle as Visnu Gopa's adopted son, and a very short tenure is assigned to him, for he had to give place to Kṛṣṇa Varmma, a son afterwards born to Visnu Gopa. This Kṛṣṇa Varmma and the next king Dindikāra, son of Kulati Rāya of the family of Visnu Gopa, are not given in the grant. The sixth king Kongani is placed after Dindikāra in the Tamil chronicle, and is mentioned as the son of Kṛṣṇa Varmma's younger sister. As his relationship with any other king of the dynasty is not given, it is to be understood that the Kṛṣṇa Varmma here meant is the one who is represented in the list as the son of Visnu Gopa. But in the grant before us, he is mentioned as the son of Mādhava, represented in the chronicle as the adopted son of Visnu Gopa, and the Kṛṣṇa Varmma whose nephew he was, is spoken of distinctly as "the sun in the sky of the prosperous race of the Kadambas." In this place therefore the grant gives us information, while the chronicle, as appears from the abstract, is silent

The date of the grant is 388. What era is meant we do not know. The dates in the chronicle are in the Śaka era, from which

it appears likely that this is also to be referred to that era. If so the date is 466 A. D. Kṛṣṇa Varma of the Kadamba race is very likely the second in Mr. Elliot's list, since there is no other of that name in the list. His date also is thus fixed by this grant to be 466 A. D. or thereabouts. Mr. Elliot assigns to the predecessor of this king the date 500 or 520 Śaka, i. e., 578 or 598 A. D., but his sources of information regarding this dynasty were so scanty that very little faith can be placed in the date.

Prof. Dowson's abstract assigns to Kongani II, the last king in the above list, 288 Śaka, that is, he is placed a hundred years before he actually flourished according to the grant. But whether this is a mistake of the chronicle itself, I cannot say. The accession of the fourth king after Kongani II is represented to have taken place in 461 Śaka. The four kings then beginning with Kongani II reigned according to the chronicle for 173 years, i. e., each reign lasted for 43 years, which is very improbable, since each of them was his predecessor's son. But if 388, the date given in the grant be taken, the duration would be at least 73 years, which would give 18 years to each king. The first date in Prof. Dowson's abstract must therefore be considered to be an error, while the second may be depended on. The Professor considers all the dates to be too early and proposes new ones. But Prof. Lassen inclines to defend the chronology of the chronicle,* which is supported by this grant.

* Lassen (Alterthumskunde, II, p 1017-18) says — 'With reference to the chronology it must be remarked that, besides quoting the years in which grants of land were made by the princes whose acts are narrated, there occurs also mention of the years according to the cycle of sixty years in use in the Deccan, which may be regarded as evidences that the unknown writer of the work in question found a well arranged chronology for the reigns of the kings whose acts he has described. According to the dates of his land-grants, Malladeva, the twenty-eighth king of Cera, reigned in the years 878 and 898, the seventh, Vikramadeva I in the year 178. These dates give a total rule of more than seven hundred and twenty years for twenty-two princes,—for these dates cannot be regarded as the first and last years of the reigns of the two kings. Hence each sovereign would have ruled on an average about thirty-three years, a period which certainly seems inadmissible, because the utmost average length of the reigns of Indian kings amounts only to twenty-five years (Thomas,

JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 36). From this difficulty, we have two ways of escape. The first is by supposing that the reigns of the Cera kings have been lengthened in order to give them a higher antiquity, and starting from the fixed datum of the subjugation of the Cera sovereigns about 900, to shorten the period so that Vikrama I should reign [as Dowson supposes] only in the 6th century. Against this hypothesis it may be observed that in such a case the supposition would have to be made, that the author of the history of these kings had wilfully falsified the numbers of the Inscriptions, or had read them wrongly, which, considering the acknowledged excellency of his work does not appear to me admissible. It should also be remarked further that the contemporary of Vikrama I of Cera, was the Pāṇḍya king Varṇasēkara, who probably reigned in the second century [see Wilson, JRAS, Vol. III, p. 215]. I considered it proper therefore to follow a different course and to support the traditional chronology as being upon the whole correct. My reasons for this are as follows :— Of the Bellāla king it has already been noticed [Dowson, in JRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 24], that they reigned on an average nearly 30 years, so that a somewhat longer duration appears admissible in this case. Secondly, it must be remarked that it is true that of the Cera princes only two (the 12th and 14th) had short reigns, and two others (the 11th and 27th) abdicated the throne, but one (the 8th) reigned fifty-one years, and one (the 23rd) was the great grandson of his predecessor, so that to him a tolerably long rule may be allowed. Only against the commencement of the dynasty and against the first date can a valid objection be raised. The 5th king, Govinda, is said to have made a grant of land in the 4th year of the Śukas or in 82 A D, it may, however, be legitimately doubted whether this chronology had come into use in the Southern districts of India so soon after its establishment. To the insecurity of the chronology of the earliest period of the kings of Cera also, the circumstance that of the fifth it was only known that he was of the same descent as his four predecessors but that his father was not known—bears testimony. We can scarcely go far wrong, however, if we place the rise of the Cera dynasty back in the commencement of our era, because at that time the two adjoining kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and Cola already existed.

Lassen's notices of the Cera kings, (both in II, pp. 1017-1020, and IV, pp. 243-245) are founded almost exclusively on Dowson's article above referred to. [This note is by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary. N. B. U.]

A NOTE ON THE GANJAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872 pp. 221f.]

The Ganjam Inscription is in four large tablets, and each of the four sheets of lithographs published by the Madras Government represents one. On comparing them with the published transcripts of the Asoka Inscriptions, I find that the first two sheets contain the celebrated edicts discovered at Girnar, Dhauli and Kapurdi-Giri. Wherever there are differences in the copies of the Inscriptions from these three places, this agrees, as might be expected, with that at Dhauli. It is much to be regretted that it is worn away in many places; still it will be of use in clearing up some of the many difficulties attending on a correct interpretation of the Asoka Inscriptions.

The Girnar copy of the edicts consists of fourteen tablets. In the present Inscription, each line of which contains on an average about 52 letters, the first tablet is entire, and occupies four lines and a quarter. The second, of four lines, has lost about 12 letters towards the end in each line. The third extends over three lines and a quarter, but of these nearly one half of each line is effaced. Each of the first five lines of the fourth tablet has lost one-half, while the sixth and seventh have lost more, and in the eighth line, which ends the tablet three words are wanting. What remains of the fifth tablet is from two to seven letters in the beginning of each of the seven lines of which it consists. This ends the first sheet. The sixth tablet at the head of the second sheet is nearly entire, and consists of six lines and three quarters, the seventh occupies two lines, the second of which has got only twenty letters in the middle, but the first is nearly entire, having lost only some two or three letters. Each of the first three lines of the eighth tablet has got a few letters in the beginning, in the middle and at the end. The fourth line ought to consist only of eleven letters, of which we have ten. But the transcriber puts down dots after the tenth letter up to about the end of the line, where he gives the letter Annāyeca, which are the final letters of the first line of the next tablet, and consequently do not belong to the

eighth ; and in the sheet before us they occur at the end of that line also. This may be a mistake either of the original engraver or of the transcriber. The ninth tablet consists of six lines all mutilated ; about one-third only or a little more in one or two cases, being preserved. The tenth tablet has lost the first halves of the three lines composing it. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Girnar tablets are wanting both in Dhauli Inscription and in the present one. The fourteenth however, occurs here though apparently it is wanting at Dhauli ; but more than half of each of the two lines, of which it consisted, is effaced.

The Inscriptions in the third and the fourth sheets correspond to the separate edicts at Dhauli translated by Prinsep and after him by M. Burnouf. The readings in these have been so unsatisfactory that the discovery of the same or nearly the same edicts at Ganjam cannot but be welcome to all students of Ind'an Antiquities. But we fear these sheets will not be of much use in clearing up the difficulties. The letters in them are in many cases ill-formed and imperfect, for instance, where we ought to have Devānām piye hevamāha, - we had in the third sheet, Devalam piye pevam ha, and in the fourth, Devānam naye hevam anha. The first D in this latter is unlike the usual D or any other known letter. The small strokes which mark the vowels and distinguish, in a few cases, one letter from another are not so carefully copied as is desirable. Mr. Graham says "The third and fourth Inscriptions are regularly wormeaten away, evidently by rain and atmospheric effects. A good deal of the right hand edges of both has been almost totally obliterated with here and there a letter or the suggestion of one remaining." The transcript on the third sheet, however, is more legible than that on the fourth. And with greater care it is perhaps not impossible to obtain still better transcript. It is to be hoped the Madras Government, which has already exhibited so laudable a zeal in this matter, will again attempt to secure better copies.

A TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE BUDDHISTIC INSCRIPTION AT GHOSRAWAN

[From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Volume XLI, part I (History, Literature &c), 1872, pages 271-74.]

The following Transcript and Translation was published by A. M. Broadley in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in his account of the Buddhistic Remains of Bihar, pp.266ff. Broadley says :—"The village of Ghosrāwan lies exactly six miles to the north-east of the Indrasāila peak at Giryak, eight miles to the east of the great Nālandā monastery and ten miles North-east of the ruins of Rājagṛha". The Inscription was discovered on a "fine piece of black basalt" to the east of a mound near the ruins of the Ghosrāwan Vihāra and temple. A reading and translation of this Inscription was secured also from Babu Rajendralal Mitra, the famous scholar of Bengal contemporary with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Rajendralal's Transcript and Translation appears at pp. 268-271 of the same Journal.

--[N. B. U.]

TRANSCRIPT

ॐ श्रीमानसौ जयति सत्त्वहितप्रवृत्तसन्मानसाधिगतत्वनयो	
मुनीन्द्रः । क्लेशान्मना दुरितनक्रदुरासदान्तः संसारसागरसमुत्त-	१
रणेकसेतुः ॥ अस्यास्मद्गुरवो बभूवुरबलाः संभूय हर्तुं मनः का लज्जा	
यदि केवलो न बलवानस्मि त्रिलोकप्रभौ । इत्यालोकयते	२
व मानसभुवा यो दूरतो वर्णितः श्रीमान्विश्वमशेषमेतद्वताद् बाधो	
सवज्जासनः ॥ अस्त्युत्तरापथविभूषणभूतभूमिर्देशोत्तमा न-	३
गरहार इति प्रनीतः । तत्र द्विजातिरूदितोदितवैशजन्म नाम्नेन्द्रगुप्त	
इति राजससो बभूव ॥ २ [१] ऊर्जे [१] कया द्विजवरः स गुणी गृ-	४
ह्णिष्या युक्तो रराज कलया मलया यथेन्द्रुः । लोकः पतिव्रतकथा प-	
रिभावनासु सङ्कीर्तनं प्रथममेव करोति यस्याः ॥ ताभ्यामजा-	५
यत क्षुतः सुतरां विषेकी यो बाल एव कलितः परलोकबुद्ध्या । सर्वो-	
पभोगसुभगेपि गृहे विरक्तः प्रब्रज्यया सुगतशासनमभ्युपे-	६
तुं ॥ वेदानधीत्य सकलान् कृतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीमत्कनिष्कमुपग-	
म्य महाविहारं । (five letters illegible) मथस प्रशमप्रशस्य सर्व-	
ज्ञानान्तमनुगम्य	७

तपश्चर ॥ सायं विशद्वगुणसम्भृतभूरिर्कीर्तिः शिष्योऽनुरूपगुणशी	
लयशोभिरामः । बालेन्दुवत्कलिकलङ्कविमुक्तकार्तिवर्म्यः	८
सदा मुनिजनैरपि वीरदेवः ॥ वज्रासनं बन्धितुमेकदाऽथ श्रीमन्महा	
बोधिमपागतोऽसौ । द्रष्टुं ततोऽगात्सहदेशिभिर्भून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्म	९
पुरं विहारं ॥ तिष्ठन्नथेह सुचिरं प्रतिपत्तिसारः श्रीदेवपालभुव-	
नाधिपलब्धपूजः । प्राप्तप्रभः प्रतिदिनोदयपूरिताशः पूषेव दारित	१०
तमःप्रसरो रराज ॥ भिक्षुरात्मसमः सुहृद्भुज इव श्रीसत्यबो-	
धे निजे नालन्दारपरिपालनाय नियतः सङ्गस्थिते य स्थितः । येनैतौ स्फु	११
टमिन्द्रशैलमुकुटश्रीचैत्यचूडामणी श्रीमण्यवतसम्भूतेन जगतः	
श्रेयार्थमुच्छ्रापितौ ॥ नालन्द्या च परिपालयितथेह सत्या श्रीम	१२
द्विहर्गपरहागवभूषिताङ्गया । उद्भासितोऽपि बहुकीर्तिवधूप-	
तित्वे यः साधु साधुगति साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः ॥ चिन्ताज्वरं शमयताऽ	
र्त्तजन	१३
स्य दृष्ट्या धन्वन्तरिप हि येन हतः प्रभावः । यश्चाप्सितार्थपरिपूर्ण-	
मनोरथेन लोकेन कल्पतरुतुल्यतया गृहीतः ॥ तेनैतद-	१४
न्न कृतमात्ममनोवदुर्ध्वैर्ज्यसन्स्य भवन् भवनोत्तमस्य । संजायते	
यद्विभीक्ष्य विमानगानां कैलासमन्दरमहीधरशङ्खशङ्खा ॥ सर्व	१५
स्वोपनयेन सत्त्वसुहृदामोदार्थ [?] मभ्यस्यता सम्बोधौ	
विहितस्मृहं सह गुणैर्विस्फूर्द्ध्वीर्य [?] ननथा । अत्रस्थेन निजे	
निजाविह वृहत्पुण्याधिकारे	१६
स्थिता येन स्वेन यशोभ्यजेन घटितौ वंशावुदीचीपथे ॥ सौपानमार्ग-	
मिव मुक्तिपुर [?] म्य कीर्तिमेता विधय कुशलं यदुपात्तमस्मान् [?]	१७
कृत्वादितः सर्पितरं गुरुवर्गमस्य सम्बोधिमेत् जनराशिरशेष	
एव ॥ यावत्कूर्मो जलाधवलया भूतधात्री बिभर्ति भ्रान्तभ्रंसी	१८
तपति तपना यावदबोयराशिमः । स्निग्धालोकाः शिशिरमहसा	
यामवत्यश्च यावत्तावत्कीर्तिर्जयतु भवने वीरदेवस्य शुभ्रा ॥	१९

1 The Rev. Dr. J. Wenger who kindly undertook the laborious task of correcting the proofs of these Inscriptions, remarks that the word *Vāsanauvana* does not occur in the text. The word actually used is *Jaśovarmapura*, Varma being the title of a dynasty of kings. *Vāsanauvana* may of course be a synonym. The Inscription appears to be metrical, but has not been printed as such. Strange to say, the Sanskrit is far purer than is usually found in Inscriptions of the Pāla kings. [This note is signed "A. M. B.", i. e., A. M. Broadley, Esq., C. S., the author of the paper on "The Buddhist Remains of Bihar," in which the above Transcript and Translation was included]—N. B. U.

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the glorious lord of Munis, who, by his mind, operating for the good of all creatures, found out the system of truth and who is the only bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existences; which [bridge] the crocodiles of sins, producing affliction, cannot approach. May he the glorious being, seated on the seat of adamant (Vajrāsana) under the Bodhi tree, protect the whole universe,—he, whom the fancy-born (god of love) shunned from a distance, as if reflecting that there was no shame in it, if he single-handed were powerless to attract the mind of lord of the three worlds, when his superiors who had gathered together, proved unable to do so. There is a country known as Nagerahāra, the land of which is the ornament of Uttarāpatha (Northern India). There was a Brahman there of the name of Indragupta, the friend of the King, who was born in a family, that had risen high. The meritorious and excellent Brahman shone like the moon with his spotless digits,—united to a wife,—[one word illegible] a wife, of whom mention is first made by people in going over the stories of faithful wives. From them was born a son who was exceedingly thoughtful, and, whose mind even in childhood was filled with thoughts of the next world, and even in his house, rich in all the means of enjoyment, he remained unconcerned [took to no pleasure], in order, by the renunciation of the world, to adopt the system of Sugata. Having studied all the Vedas and reflected on the Śāstras, he went to the Vihāra of Kaniska, and following him who was praiseworthy on account of his severity, and who was all-knowing and free from passions [two or three words illegible], he practised, penance. The pupil of one who, by his pure virtues, had obtained great fame, he, Viradeva — graceful by the possession of befitting virtues, character and fame, and with a lustre free from the stains of Kali, was like the new moon, an object of adoration even to the Munis. He once came to the great Bodhi to pay his respects to the Vajrāsana (adamantine seat), and thence went to see the mendicant priests of his country to the Yaśovarmapura Vihāra. While staying here for a long time, respected by all and patronized by the King Devapāla, he, having obtained¹ splendour [of know-

¹ The three epithets here have a double meaning, one applicable to the sun, and the other to Viradeva.

ledge or power], outfilling by his every-day rise all the quarters, and dispelling darkness, shone like the sun. Appointed to protect (govern) Nālandā, he the friend of the Bhikṣu, as if he were his arm, abided by his true knowledge concerning the Church¹ (or congregation : Saṃgha), and having already taken the vow of a Śramana, erected, for the good of the world, two crest-jewels in the shape of Caityas, on the crown (summit) of Indraśaila. Though shining bright by means of Nālandā,² who having been protected by him, had her body adorned with a splendid row of Vihāras, he was praised by the good people saying " well done, well done," when he became the husband of the wife Great Fame. Dispelling the fever of anxiety of afflicted persons by a mere look, he put to shame the might of Dhanvantari,³ and was regarded as equal to a Kalpataru,⁴ by people whose desires he had fulfilled by granting to them all objects, wished for. By him was erected this house for the best thing in the world, the adamant seat (Vajrāsana), as lofty as his own mind, which the movers in the aerial cars mistake for a peak of Kailāsa or Mandara, when they look at it With his desires fixed on enlightenment (or true knowledge : Sambodhi) and with a heroism rivalling his other qualities, he, practising liberality to the friends of all creatures by giving his all, and exercising his holy authority here, hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles of his family,⁵ (family of father and mother) in Uttarāpatha. Since in the shape of his famous deeds, he erected a staircase to ascend the place of final emancipation and obtained religious merit, may all people without exception, headed by his father and all the elder ones, attain to real knowledge (Sambodhi) ! May the bright family of Viradeva last in the world as long as the tortoise bears the earth begirt with the seas, as long as the Sun with his warm rays, the destroyer of darkness, shines, and as long as the cool-beamed Moon renders the nights bright !

1 That is, it is of great importance to have a united Church and to construct Vihāras for congregational purposes.

2 Compared to a wife.

3 Physician of the gods.

4 A heavenly tree having the power of granting anything desired.

5 The word " Vamśa " means " race or family " or a " pole or bamboo, " and is here used in both the senses.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS INCLUDED IN THIS VOLUME.

1871

- 1 A Transcript and Translation of a Copperplate Grant of the Fifth Century A. D., found in Gujarat ; (pp. 246-256).

1872

- 2 A Devanāgarī Transcript, Translation and Date of a Valabhi Copperplate, and a new Interpretation of the Figured Dates on the Grants of the Valabhi Dynasty ; (pp. 214-238).
- 3 On Two Copperplates from Valabhi ; (pp. 229-242).
- 4 A Note on the Ganjam Rock Inscription ; (pp. 423-424).
- 5 Remarks on the Merkara Copperplate Grant ; (pp. 420-422).
- 6 A Transcript and Translation of the Buddhistic Inscription at Ghosrawan ; (pp. 425-428).

1873

- 7 A Morbi Copperplate with Transcript and Translation ; (pp. 243-245).

1874

- 8 On the Valabhi Chronology ; (pp. 257-260).

1878

- 9 A Revised Transcript and Translation of a Cālukya Copperplate Grant, with remarks on the Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kings of the Cālukya dynasty ; (pp. 261-274).
- 10 A Memorandum on Some Antiquarian Remains found in a Mound and in the Brahmapurī Hill, near Kolhapur ; (pp. 411-419).

1883

- 11 On Dr. Hoernle's Version of a Nasik Inscription and the Gāthā Dialect ; (pp. 366-383).
- 12 The Rāstrakūta King Kṛṣṇarāja I and Elāpura ; (pp. 335-339).

1884

- 13 The Early History of the Deccan down to the Mahomedan Conquest, with three Appendixes : (1) on the Gupta Era, (2) on

the Śaka dates, and (3) the text of Hemādri's *Rājaprasastī* ;
[First Edition ; Second Edition published in 1895] ; (pp. 1-198).

1887

- 14 A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java ; (pp. 353-362).

1889

- 15 The Epoch of Gupta Era [with a Note on Dr. Fleet's Transcript and Translation of the Mandasor Inscription] ;

(pp. 384-405).

1892

- 16 A Transcript and Translation of the Deoli Plates of the Rāstrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III ; (pp. 293-305).

- 17 Two Sets of Rāstrakūṭa Copperplates from the Navasari District ; (pp. 318-334).

- 18 A Malacuri Copperplate Grant from the Belgaum District ; (pp. 340-352).

[1895]

[Second Edition of the Early History of the Deccan].

1897

- 19 The Rāstrakūṭa Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III ; (pp. 275-292).

1898

- 20 A Note on Three Bricks with impressions of Figures and Letters on these found at Tagoung, Some 200 Miles above Mandalay in Burma ; (pp. 363-365).

1899

- 21 A Revised Transcript and Translation of the Rāstrakūṭa Deoli Plates of Kṛṣṇa III of Śaka-Samvat 862 ; (pp. 306-317).

1905

- 22 The work done by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society towards the Elucidation of Indian History by the study of Inscriptions ; (pp. 199-213).

1913

- 23 A Second Note on the Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman ; (pp. 406-416).

ABBREVIATIONS &c.

Ait. Brāh. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Arch. S. of W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India
(Reports).

Cunningham : Arch. Report = Cunningham's Reports on the
Archaeological Survey of India.

Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

JASB or JBAS. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Calcutta.

JBBRAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society, Bombay.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
and Ireland, London.

P. S. and O. C. = Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions.

Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc = Transactions of the Bombay Literary
Society.

Trans. Or. Congr. = Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists
(held at different places in Europe).

Vikr. or Vikr. Ca. = Vikramāṅkadevacarita, edited by G. Buhler,
Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 14.

INDEXES.

INDEX NO. I.

(INDEX OF PLACES AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.)

[For abbreviations &c. used in this Index, see at the end of this Index]

A

- Abhicchatra, a place ? p. 247, 253,* 255.
- Adhem, = Adhi, a village near Karhad, p. 280, 282,* 292.
- Afghanistan, Buddhistic relics found in it, p. 411.
- Agrani, a R. near Karhad, p. 280.
- Ahmedabad, p. 137n; its Gateways Inscription, p. 213.
- Aihole Inscription, its reference to Kālidāsa and Mahārāstra, p. 20; basis of the history of Kirtivarman, E. Cā. k., p. 68; its statement about the origin of Śaka era, p. 178; its date, p. 204; its proper interpretation, p. 205; composed by Jain Ravikīrti, p. 263; eras and dates in it investigated, pp. 264ff; 268f, 271.
- Ajanta Caves, their architecture, p. 358f.
- Ajara, a village in Kolhapur Dist., p. 172.
- Ajura, a village near Karhad, p. 280.
- Akarāvanti, p. 25, 41; = Eastern portion of Malwa, p. 25n4.
- Alupai, a town on the Malabar coast, p. 70n3.
- Allahabad, p. 172.
- Ambe Inscription, p. 151, 154.
- Amranātha Temple Inscription, A., near Kalyan, p. 211f.
- Amravātaka, a village, p. 74.
- Amarāvati, near Dharnikot, p. 49.
- Anahilapattana, p. 111, 115.
- Anamkond, near Warangal, p. 150.
- Ānadāśrama in Poona, p. 275.
- Ānarta, p. 39n1.
- Āndhras, = Telugu country, p. 10; = Tailanga country, p. 150.
- Anjaneri Inscription, p. 144; A. near Nasik.
- Ankuleśvara, p. 248, 253,* 255; = Ankleshwar in Gujarath, p. 251.
- Annigiri, made capital by Tailapa II and Someśvara IV, Later Cā. kings, p. 125f.
- Anūpa, its position according to Purānas and acc. to Raghuvarṃśa, p. 25 & n4; 41; conquered by Gotamīputra, p. 42.
- Aparānta(kas), = Northern Konkan, p. 6; mentioned in Aśoka's Inscriptions, pp. 17ff, 17n, 21f, 25 & n4; 41; conquered by Gotamīputra, p. 42.
- Āryāvarta, as defined by Manu and Patañjali, p. 7.
- Āśika, a province, p. 25.
- Āśmaka, a province, p. 25 & n3.

- Āśvinikāputragrāma**, a place, p. 228*.
- Atkur Inscription**, p. 279 & n3, 296, 298n, 310.
- Avanti**, = District about Ujjayini, mentioned by Pānini, p. 12; mentioned in Purānas as on the back of the Vindhya; *ibid.* p. 17; conquered by Gotami-putra, p. 42.
- Āvantiyas**, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, p. 409.
- Ayodhya**, as the original (legendary) place of Cālukyas, p. 66; their capital, p. 67.
- B**
- Badachi**, a village near Athani; = Battaci p. 342; See also Vadaci and Battaci.
- Badami**, Capital of Early Cālukyas, p. 208.
- Badami Temple** (= Viṣṇu cave) Inscription, p. 52; the temple built by Mangalīśa Cā. K., p. 68f., 204f., p. 208, p. 269f; date of the inscription, p. 68f; its statement about the origin of the Śaka Era, p. 177; inscribed at the order of Mangalīśa, p. 262. (another?) inscription of Vijayāditya, Early Cā. K. there, p. 79. See also Vātāpipura.
- Badhrīra** [or Vadhrīra] Grāma, a village; = Berdi near Mohgaon, (q. v.) in the Nāgapura-Nandivardhana Dist. p. 298, 300,* 305, 311, 316,* 317.
- Bāgewadi**, a village, p. 158.
- Bagumbra**, p. 321. See under Umbarā also.
- Baithana**, capital of Siro Polemios p. 183; = Paithan, q. v.
- Belagāṇive inscription**, p. 132.
- Balegrāma**, a village, = modern Belgaum Tarhala near Igatpuri, p. 73; 272,* 273.
- Bali Island**, Hinduism confined to it, p. 362.
- Banavāsi** (= Vanavāsi) in North Kanara, p. 68, 210f; capital of Kadambas, attacked by Puṭakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 70; B. as name of a country, p. 59; inscription at B. p. 46; 116, 118f., 125, 169. Banavāsi-puravarādhīśvara, a title of rulers of Goa, p. 169. See also Vanavāsi and Vaijayanti.
- Bapaṭiyaka Satkka Ksetra**, name of a field (twice) p. 228*.
- Bārṇasāyā**, place where Usavadata made his charities, p. 371.
- Baroda copperplate inscription**; its statement about the Elāpura mount (Kailāsa) Temple, pp. 335-338; p. 88n, 308; other B. grants p. 86, 92; 320.
- Barugāsa**, = Broach p. 58. See also Bharukaccha and Bhṛgukaccha.
- Batavia**, p. 355.
- Battaci**, a village in the Kanamvade country, p. 341, 342; = Badachi, q. v.
- Bavyasthaviraka Ksetra**, name of a field, p. 228*.
- Bedsa inscription(s)**; p. 18f, 60, 62, 203.

Bekonki, a village near Karhad,
p. 280.

Belgaum grant, p. 158.

Belvola, a place; p. 120.

Benares or Kāśī (Ksetra), p. 416.

Barar, see under **Valdarbha** and
Vidarbha.

Berlin, capital of **Fredrick the
Great**, p. 184f.

Betva, R., p. 7.

Bhadana Grant, p. 309.

Bhāja Inscriptions, p. 19.

Bhambāgiri or Rambhāgiri, p. 150,
195*.

Bharahut Stūpa, lying between
Jubbulpore and **Allahabad**, p. 62.

Bharukaccha, p. 23, 62, 252*, 254,
409.

Bhavāni Temple, built by **Ananta-
deva**, p. 156f.

Bhavanagar, p. 239.

Bhilsa Topes, p. 367, 383n.

Bhīmā river, p. 131.

Bhrgukaccha, a Province of
Broach, p. 251.

Bihar, p. 356, 485.

Bishnur, = **Visnupura**, p. 339.

Boro Buddor, the finest building
in Java; architecturally resem-
bles Indian sculptures and
points to identity of workman-
ship and workmen; p. 358f.

**Brahmadāyika Bhāgīyakasatkka
Ksetra**, name of a field, p. 228*.

Brahmadāyika Bārilaka Ksetra,
name of a field p. 228*.

Brāhmana Śaṣṭibhavatkka Ksetra,
name of a field, p. 228,* 223.

Prahmapuri Hill, near **Kolhapur**;
Antiquarian Remains found
there, pp. 411-419; probably has

a **Stūpa** buried in it, p. 412;
coins found there, p. 412f. See
also **Kolhapur**.

Brahmāvarta, the country about
Thanesar, the holy land of
Āryans, p. 7.

Broach, the seat of the **Gujarath
Dynasty**, p. 247f. p. 152; city
and province, p. 152. See also
Bharukaccha and **Bhrgukac-
cha**.

Buzantion, = **Vaijayanti**, (q. v.)
mentioned in **Periplus**; p. 59.

©

Cakora, Mt., p. 25.

Cakrakota, a province? p. 114.

Cambodia, colonised by **Hindus**
from **South India**, p. 359.

Cambodia Inscriptions, they are
all in **South Indian Characters**,
p. 359.

Candranagara, capital of the
Yādavas; = **Modern Chandor**
in **Nasik Dist.**, p. 138.

Catrasatkavāpi, name of a well,
p. 228*, 233.

Cedi, = the Country about **Jubbal-
pore** & **Chattisgad**; the province
over which the **Haihayas** ruled,
p. 128; 65, 68, 204; 111; see also
under **Dāhala**.

Cedimandala, p. 278*.

Cera, country = modern **Mysore**
province, p. 70, 120.

Ceylon, p. 359; see also **Sinhala**
and **Sīmhala dvīpa**.

Chambal, R., p. 7.

Chandi Kali Bening, = **Temple of
Tārā** in **Java**, p. 357.

Chandi Sewa, a **Temple** in
Java; p. 357.

Chattisgad, p. 151.
 China, p. 359.
 Chiplun caves, on Dabhol creek,
 p. 57.
 Chitur, = Citrapura, p. 339.
 Cikkarāya Jaina Temple, p. 188.
 Citrakūta, p. 104, 283,* 290, 300,*
 304, 314.*
 Colas, = modern Tanjore Pro-
 vince; p. 5, 10, 111, 120; C.
 country governed by Kṛṣṇa
 III Rās K., p. 279.

D

Dāhala, = Cedi, p. 114 See also
 Cedi.
 Dāhanukā, a creek river, p. 24,
 373, 376.
 Dakhinabades, mentioned in
 Periplus, = Daksināpatha (q. v.)
 p. 5.
 Dakkhana, Vernacular pronun-
 ciation of Daksina; its applica-
 tion, p. 5.
 Daksina, as understood by Purā-
 nas, p. 5f; a shorter form, ibid.
 Daksinadig, = the Southern re-
 gion, p. 283*, 290, 284,* 291,
 300,* 304, 314*.
 Daksināpatha, its meaning; its
 shorter for n, p. 5; as under-
 stood by the Purānas, p. 5f.;
 not always used in the same
 sense; its modern sense, p. 6;
 mentioned by Patañjali, p. 14;
 p. 41f, 77, 106&n.
 Daksināpathasādhāra; a title, p
 77.
 Damanā, a creek river? p. 24,
 373.

Dandaka, = Dandakāranya (q. v.)
 p. 17.
 Dandakāranya; its use in the
 sense of Mahārāstra in Hindu
 ritual Mantras, p. 8; date of
 Āryan settlement in it, p. 11, 15.
 Dandikāmandala, = Deccan, p. 195*
 Dandikāperisara, = confines or
 limit of Dandakāranya, p. 198.
 Daśapura, in Malwa, p. 23, 401f.
 p. 409.
 Daśārṇa, = Modern Bhilsā Dist.,
 p. 17; p. 409; see also Vidiśa.
 Dattāmitri, situated in Lower
 Sind, p. 62.
 Daulatabad, p. 138; see under
 Devagiri also.
 Deccan, its etymology and con-
 notation; p. 5f; its geogra-
 phical definition, p. 6; = Mahā-
 rāstra in its narrow sense, p. 6,
 8. See also under Mahārāstra.
 Delhi Iron Pillar Inscription,
 p. 213.
 Deoli, a village near Wardha in
 Nagpur; p. 205, 276, 293, 306.
 Deoli Plates of Kṛṣṇa III, Rās.
 K., transcript, translation &c.,
 p. 293-305; the same revised,
 p. 306-317; 276, 279; names
 of persons, village &c., thereon,
 engraved on erasures, p. 307n1.
 Devagiri, = Modern Daulatabad,
 p. 8, 208; its location according
 to Hemādri, p. 8; Situated in
 Seunadeśa; Capital of Yādava
 d., p. 138, 161, 198, 208; founded
 and made capital by Bhīllama
 V, p. 148f; 195*; capital of Siṅ-
 ghana, p. 151; of Mahādeva,
 Yādava K., p. 161; bes'eged by

Alla-ud-din Khilji, p. 165, 136ff, 158, 167, 174.
 Deval Inscriptions; D. in Rohilkhūṇḍ, p. 356.
 Dhanakataka, = Dharanikot in Gantur Dist., Madras Presidency, p. 28, 413; pp. 46ff; same as Dhanakata, p. 26 & n2; situated on lower Kṛṣṇā, p. 26n2; coins found there p. 30; Capital of the Andhrabhrtyas, p. 413.
 Dhārā, Capital of Bhoja, captured by Someśvara I, Later Cā. King, p. 113; sacked, p. 114; 150.
 Dharanikot, = Dhanakataka (q.v.)
 Dharmavolal, = Modern Dambal in Dharwar Dist. a Buddhistic Vihāra at D., p. 132.
 Dhārur, p. 59; see also Tagara.
 Dharwar Inscriptions, p. 204, 206.
 Dhauli, a place in Katak, p. 17.
 Dhauli Inscriptions, p. 423f.
 Dramiḷa country, = Dravida country, p. 113.
 Drsadvatī river, p. 7.
 Dvārakā, p. 137, 156. See also Dvāravati.
 Dvārassamudra, = modern Halebid in Mysore, p. 120.
 Dvāravati, p. 137, 156, 193. See also Dvārakā.
 Dvāravatisvara, p. 193*.

E

Eastern Archipelago, p. 360.
 Elāpura temple, built by Kṛṣṇa I, Rās. k., pp. 335-339; p. 208; Elāpura is not Yellapur in N. Kanara, p. 88n, 335; p. 87f, 376. = Elur or Elurā, p. 339; =

Ellora, p. 294, 308, E. Caves as testimony to Rāṣṭrakūṭa greatness, p. 105.
 Ellora Rock-Cut Temple, the Inscription there, p. 85.
 Elas, a place in Gujarath, p. 251.
 Elliohpur, p. 165, 166.

G

Gadag Inscription, probably a forgery, p. 144n2, 120.
 Gaṇḍassamudra, a lake built by Gaṇḍarāditya Śilāhāra at Irukudi in Miraj State, p. 172.
 Gāṅga country, = Gaṅgapāṭi = Gaṅgavādi, p. 296, 310.
 Gangakunda, a city, p. 115.
 Gaṅgapāṭi, a (Southern?) province, p. 283,* 290; p. 300,* 303, p. 314*. See also Gāṅga country.
 Gaṅgavādi, see Gāṅga country.
 Ganjam Rock Inscription, containing Aśoka Inscriptions, a note on it, pp. 423-24.
 Gauda, = Bengal, p. 115.
 Gayā (Ksetra), p. 416.
 Ghizni, capital of Mahomed of Ghizni, p. 184f.
 Ghod Bunder, p. 58.
 Ghosrāwan Inscription (Buddhistic) transcribed and translated, pp. 425-428.
 —near Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar, p. 356, 425.
 —Vihāra, p. 425.
 Girnar, in Kathiawad; Aśoka's Inscriptions there, p. 17, 423; Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman, p. 219 & n1, 246.
 Goa, p. 59, 68, 117, 120. See Gopapattana.

Godāvari, R. p. 6, 8, 53, 112, 164.

Godhra, p. 153.

Gopapattana, = Goa (q.v.), capital of Kadamba Princes, p. 210; 117.

Goparāstra, District about Nasik, p. 73.

Goparāstra Visaya = District of Goparāstra, p. 272*, 273.

Govardhana, p. 8; a town acc. to some Purāṇas; a Mountain acc. to others, p. 9; = a village of that name near Nasik, *ibid*; p. 23f, 27, 380f.

—District about Nasik, r. 23, 60.

Gove = Goa? p. 120.

Gujarat, p. 38n, 111, 263; its different rulers, p. 182; under Ksatrapas, p. 222; named after Gūrjaras and called Gūrjara-trā, p. 410.

Gujarāta, a District of the Punjab, p. 410.

Gumra = Bagumra, a village in Navasari Dist., p. 98.

Gūrjaras, a tribe or people, p. 409f.

Gūrjara, = Broach Dist., p. 77.

Gūrjaratrā, = Rājaputana (q.v.), p. 410.

Gwalior Stone Inscription, p. 212.

H

Hastava-Prahāra (a sub-division?) in Surāstra, p. 240.

Himālaya mountain, p. 104, 161n2.

Himāśaila, = Himālaya, p. 284,* 290; 300,* 304,* 314*

Hippocura, mentioned by Ptolemy, = Kolhapur or Karhad; p. 61; 37, 183f.

I

Ibā, creek river? p. 24; 373; 376.

Igatpuri copperplate grant, p. 7*.

Indor, = Indrapura, p. 339.

Indraprastha, p. 267.

Indraśaila, a Peak at Gīryak (Bihar) near Rājagṛha; Caityas, on it, p. 425, 426,* 428.

Indur, = Indrapura, p. 88.

Irukudi, in Miraj State, p. 172.

Iwulli, = Aihole, (q. v.).

J

Jaghanyadeśa, = Southern India (and in another sense also), p. 322,* 326,* 330.

Jaipur (State), p. 409.

Jāmalgarhi Remains, p. 411.

Jasdan, in Kathiawar, the inscription there, p. 200.

Jaśovarmapura, p. 426n.

Jaugad, in Ganjam, p. 17.

Java (Central), an inscription from J. transcribed and translated &c. pp. 353-362; p. 213; language of inscriptions in J. Kawi or old Javanese, and Sanskrit, p. 359; the monastery in the J. inscription as described by Raffles, p. 356f.; other Sanskrit inscriptions from J; their characters South Indian, p. 359; Hindu civilization and settlements, and colonisation in J. pp. 358ff; communication between India and J., p. 359; notices of J. in Sanskrit literature, p. 360; J. converted to Mahomedanism, p. 361f, disappearance of Hinduism from J., p. 362.

Javala, name of a well, p. 328,* 334.

Jayanti, = Vajrayanti, p. 60; = Jayantipura? *ibid*.

Jayantipura = Banavāsi, (q. v.) p. 59, 211.

Jola, a province, portion of which is incl. in Dharwar Dist. p. 110.

Junagad inscription of Rudradāman, p. 36, 39f, 41n1, 42, 199, 259.

Junagad lake, date of its dyke being swept away, p. 40.

Junnar, = Junanara = Jū(ī)rna-nagara, p. 60; an early flourishing town, p. 40; capital of Mahārāstra p. 40; of Nahapāna, p. 40; 60, 62.

Junnar (cave) inscriptions, p. 25, 33, 40, 59, 367, 383n, 413.

K

Kaccella, = Kaccha, p. 77. See Kaccha below.

Kaccha, mentioned by Pānini, called also Kaccella, p. 77. See also under Kutch.

Kacchi, = Kāñcipura, (q. v.) p. 279.

Kailāsa temple at Elapur or Ellora, built by Kṛṣṇa I, Rās. k., p. 208. See also Elāpura.

Kaira, p. 248.

Kālāñjara, p. 104; belonging to Cedi rulers, p. 128 & n4, 213,* 290, 300,* 304, 314,* 341.

Kalāpakapatha, division of Gujarat, p. 228*; in Surāstra, p. 233.

Kalinga, = Northern Circars, mentioned by Pānini, p. 12; 15, 17, 21, 120.

Kalli, a village near Karhad, p. 280.

Kalli Dvādasa, = Kalli group of twelve villages, p. 285,* 292; villages at present comprised in it, p. 280.

Kalliena, = Modern Kalyan, a place of importance, mentioned in Periplus, p. 59.

(I) Kalyan, a sea-port town, mentioned in the Periplus, p. 59, 62; see also Kalliena.

(II) Kalyāna, founded by Someśvara I, Later Cā. k.; date of its foundation, p. 114f; capital of Later Cālukyas, p. 114f; 208, 118, 121, 125, 128f, 133, 142, 148, 169, 173; Capital of Vijjana Kalacuri k., p. 130; ruined by Lingāyats, p. 130; K. as Kailāsa, p. 131; Kalyānapura, p. 126.

Kalyānarājya, p. 194.*

Kāmarūpa, = Assam, p. 115.

Kammanija, a place? p. 342*, 328, 333f.

Kamṇavade-Deśa, p. 346,* 351. See also Kanavadi.

Kanarese Country, Temples in it, p. 208; K. districts as probable place of ritual writers p. 83.

Kanauj, p. 71; its Gūrjara dynasty, p. 212. See also under Kānyakubja and Mahodaya.

Kanavadi, a village near Athani, = Kanamvade; also name of a province round about it being named after itself, p. 342.

Kāñci, = Conjeveram, p. 71, 75, 80f See also Kacchi.

Kāñcipura, p. 89, 92, p. 114f, 117

- 322,* 326,* 330 ; mentioned by Patañjali, p. 14.
- Kandana or Kanhanā River, p. 298, 300,* 305. 311, 316,* 317.
- Kanhavannā, R., p. 285,* 292.
- Kanheri Caitya, p. 61.
- Kanheri caves, at the head of the Bombay Harbour, p. 58, 209.
- Kanheri Caves Inscriptions, p. 29 & nl, 31, 42, 59, 65, 93f, 97, 105, 170 ; (of Amoghavarsa Rās. k.), 190, 367, 413.
- Kaniskavihāra, p. 425,* 427.
- Kankem, a village belonging to "Kalli" group of 12, in Karahātaka Dist., p. 285,* 291; = Kanki, near Karhad, p. 280.
- Kānya (Kanya)kubja, p. 114, 387.
- Kapllavastu, in the Gorakhapur Dist., p. 416.
- Karabena, a river, p. 24, 373.
- Karahātaka, = Modern Karhad, p. 17, 61f, 118, 171, 275; mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Inscriptions, p. 61.
- Karahāta—Kundi Dist, p. 171.
- Karahāta Visaya=Karhad Dist., p. 285,* 292.
- Karahātīyavalkaleśvara - Stānapati, p. 285,* 292.
- Karañjakheta, p. 285,* 292 & n.
- Karda grant or copperplate, 86f, 93, 95, 97f, 101f.
- made in the reign of Kakkola, Rās. k., p. 104; 107; 188, 277ff. 297f, 306 n2, 311.
- Karhad District, under Śilāhāras, p. 209.
- Karhad (Town), see under Karahātaka.
- Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III, their transcript and translation, pp. 275-292.
- Karjika, a village, p. 25.
- Karla, p. 62.
- Caves, p. 60, 208.
- Karla Caves Caitya, constructed by a Seth of Vaijayanti, p. 61.
- Karla(i) Inscriptions, p. 9, 24f, 27f, 33, 60, 367, 383n.
- Karnul Dist., p. 74.
- Karpūra Island, p. 360.
- Karūsa, mentioned by Pānini and in Purānas, p. 12.
- Kaseli, a village near Jaitapur and Kharepatan p. 172.
- Kāsi, p. 151.
- Katāha Island, p. 360.
- Kathiwad, in possession of Candragupta and Asoka; p. 21; 203; its successive rulers, p. 182, 201.
- Kaumāra forest in the South, p. 96
- Kaunkana, = Konkan, p. 196, 197.* See also under Konkan.
- Kausāmbi, = Modern Kosam near Allahabad, capital of Vatsas, p. 90, 319.
- Kāvera, = Kerala, p. 79.
- Kāveri, R, p. 71, 155.
- Kavi grant, issued by Govinda of Lāta-Rās. family, p. 92, 86, 88, 91nl, 320.
- Kerala, = Malbar, p. 5, 10; 115, mentioned by Patañjali p. 14.
- Kenari Caves, their architecture, p. 358f.; 365.

- Kesali**, near Kharepatan in Konkan p. 172.
- Ketalaputras**, (country) mentioned in Asoka Inscriptions, = Cera or Kerala, p. 18, 21f.
- Kha'e**drapur in Kolhapur State, p. 151: the Inscription there; p. 151, 188.
- Khālsi**, in Himālaya, p. 17.
- Khandesh**, = Seunadeśa; history of the name, p. 138; rule over K. of the Abhiras, p. 64.
- Kharāla** garden, in Kolhapur, p. 415.
- Kharepatan Plate(s)** or grant, p. 85nl, 97, 102, 104; issued by Satyaśraya, Later Cālukya King, 112; 170.
- plates of Ratta (Śilāhara Prince?), p. 188, 200; gives genealogy of South Konkan Śilāharas, p. 210; 277, 294, 309, 311; K. their Capital, p. 170n2, & p. 121.
- Khatav**, a place near Karhad, p. 280.
- Khedrapur**, See Khadrapur.
- Khera** Cālukya Copper-plate grant, p. 77; probably a forgery, p. 78; reasons, p. 78nl.
- Khiligili**, probably another name of Panhalla, in Kolhapur Dist p. 171.
- Khollas**, (Seven)—a district, p. 172
- Kikikīṭaputra Grāma** p. 228, 233*.
- Kiskindhā**, near Hampi; placed near the Vindhya by Purāṇas, p. 17.
- Kiyul**, Buddhistic remains found there, p. 411.
- Kochare**, a village near Vengurla, p. 74, 204.
- Koina**, River, p. 17.
- Kokahnur**, a village near Athni in Belgaum Dist, p. 340, 342.
- Kolaga(śa)**, a village in Java, p. 353*, 354, 356.
- Kolhapur**, flourishing town under Śatavāhanas, p. 61, its old name not certain; *ibid*; (for which see also Hippocura); p. 113, 137n, 172; Antiquarian remains found near K at Brahmapuri, p. 29, 411, 419 (for which see also under Brahmapuri); Kolhapur coins, p. 37, 42, 48f. 184, 412ff. 418f; K. Ambābāl temple Inscription, p. 127; K. Inscriptions, p. 151, 171: K. district under Śilāhāras, p. 209; a Buddhist Stūpa at K, p. 29 State Museum at K. Town Hall, p. 12
- Konkan Creeks**, p. 57; Konkan (generally) 117, 720, 172; K. annexed to Later Yādava territories, p. 160. Konkan, Northern, assigned to Pullaśakti by Amoghavarṣa I, Rās. K, p. 170.
- Konkan** (Southern) = the Province between Sea-coast and Sahya, p. 170 & n2, added to Kolhapur Śilāhāra dominions, p. 171.
- Konkans**, seven, p. 113. See also Kaunkana
- Koppesvara** Temple, p. 151.
- Kosala**, (a country) mentioned by Pāṇini and in Ratnāvalī; p. 12; mentioned in the Purāṇas as on the back of Vindhya, *ibid*.

Kosam, see under Kauśāmbī.
 Koṭhadara, a place in Gujarath,
 p. 252.
 Kṛsnā (River), p. 17, 119, 130, 148
 278.
 Kṛsnagiri Mt., p. 25.
 Kṛsnavenā, R. = Kanhavannā, p
 280; 120, 147.
 Kuchara, a village; its boundaries
 p. 211; called Mādhavapuri; K.
 = modern Kochare: *ibid*.
 Kude, a place on Rājāpuri creek;
 p 61f,—caves p. 57, 59; Kuda
 cave inscriptions, p. 18.
 Kuhundi or Kundi, a province=
 a part of modern Belgaum
 Dist., p. 158 & n2 p. 171n2.
 Kukura, a province=a portion
 of Rajputana 25 & n2.
 Kumudvat, a country mentioned
 by Pāṇini, p. 13.
 Kuntala; = Southern Maratha
 country; p 149.
 Kuntala, Kingdom p. 116.
 Kuru (country), p 374, 375.
 Kurundaka, a village in Gujarath,
 =modern Kadoka, p 98, 320f,
 324*, 328*, 329*, 332.
 Kusumeśvara, a place in Guja-
 rath, p. 75.
 Kuśī Nagara, in Gorakhpur Dist.
 p. 416.
 Kutch Inscriptions, p. 213.
 Kutumbi Bavya Sthavirasatkka,
 name of a field? p. 228*.
 Kuṭumbi Candra Satkka, name
 of a field? p. 228*, 233.
 Kuṭumbīśvara, name of a field?
 p 228.
 Kuṭumbi, Varāhasatakk name
 of a field? p. 228*

Kutumbi Vinhala satkka, name,
 of a field (?) p. 233, 229*

L

Laksmēśvara Inscription, p. 106.
 Lañjīpura, a place p. 143, 194*.
 Lāta, =Southern Gujarat; or=
 province between the Mahī and
 Lower Tāpī, p. 65, 75, 77, 92,
 111, 320f, 324,* 328, 333f.
 Lokeśvara Temple at Pattadakal,
 p 80.
 Lökkigundi, =Modern Lakkundi
 in Dharwar Dist.; battle there,
 between Bhīllama V, Yādava
 K. and Hoysala Vira Ballāla, p.
 132, 149.

M

Mādāvatātara or Mādātadhi-
 dhāra, a village in Nagpur-
 Nandivardhana, p. 298, 300*,
 305, 311, 316,* 317.
 Madhyadeśa, country between
 Himālaya and Vindhya; used
 in a double sense also; p. 322,*
 326,* 330.
 Madra (country), p. 379.
 Madurā, p. 16.
 Mahad caves on Bankot creek,
 p. 57.
 Mahārāstra, in its narrowest
 sense = country about Godā-
 varī, p. 8; last country occu-
 pied by Āryas, p. 9; its abori-
 gines driven to fastnesses, *ibid*;
 M. associated with Mahīmat,
 p. 13; not mentioned as such
 in the two epics, p. 17;
 mentioned in Dipavarṇāśa and
 Mahāvamśa, p. 17n; mentioned
 in Purāṇas, p. 20; mentioned

- as Moholochaby Hwan Thsang, p. 20; exposed to foreign invasions in Early Śātavāhana times, p. 57; "three Mahārāstrakas", subject to Pulakesi II, Early Ck. k., p. 71; probable place of Ritual writers, p. 83; its oldest Inscriptions those of Śātavāhanas, p. 202; its Cave Temples, p. 202; M. under Ksatrapas, p. 222; its limits, p. 294, 307; mentioned by Jñāneśvara, p. 164. See also Deccan.
- Mahattatradāsakasattka**, name of a field? p. 228,* 233.
- Mahendra**, Mt., p. 25.
- Mahiskas**, a southern country, acc. to the Rāmāyana, p. 8; same as Mahismat, below.
- Mahismat**, associated with Mahārāstra, p. 13f.
- Māhismati**, on the banks of the Narmadā, mentioned by Patañjali, p. 13f; capital of Anūpa, p. 25.
- Mahodaya**, another name of Kanauj, p. 212.
- Māhi**, R., p. 152.
- Maholi**, a village in Salsette, p. 209.
- Mairiñja**, = Miraj, p. 171n2. See also Miriñja and Miraj.
- Malaprabhā**, R., p. 130.
- Māmalāhāra**, = Modern Maval, district around Karla, p. 61.
- Managora**, = Mandad = Mandagada on Rājapur creek, mentioned in Periplus, p. 59.
- (I) Mandasor Inscription, as settling the initial date of the Gupta Era, p. 398f; a note on it with a criticism of Fleet's Transcript and Translation of the Inscr. 400-405.
- (II) Mandasor Inscription of Bandhuvarman, p. 407f.
- (III) Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman, a Note on it, pp. 406-410.
- (IV) Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman, p. 407.
- Mangalavestāka**, = Mangalvedhe near Pandharpur, p. 148 & n1.
- Mānikyal** in Panjab, Buddhistico remains found there, p. 411.
- Mānikyal Tope**, p. 412.
- Mankir**, mentioned by Arabic travellers, p. 106; = Mānyakheta (q. v.).
- Malkhed**, p. 208, = Mānyakheta, (q. v.)
- Mānyakheta**, capital of the Rāstrakūtas, founded by Amoghavarṣa I, p. 93; = Malkhed in Nizam's Territory; p. 93; 98, 100ff; 282*, 287, 294, 295; 299* 300*, 302, 305, 307f, 313*, 315*, 318-321, 324*, 328, 332. See also Mankir and Malkhed.
- Manshera**, in N. Panjab, p. 17.
- Mandara**, Mt., p. 272*, 273.
- Malabar**, p. 70.
- Malaya**, (country) p. 116.
- Malaya**, Mt., p. 25, 272*, 273.
- Mallikārjuna**, shrine of, p. 86n3.
- Malvan**, p. 211.
- Malwa**, p. 92; p. 111, 115, 120, 409.
- Malwa Province**, settled by and called after the ancient Mālavas, p. 409.
- Maru** (province), p. 120.

Mathurā, p. 137; inscriptions there, p. 38n1.
 Maulika, a Mt. acc. to Purānas, p. 25n3.
 Mayūrakhandī, = Morkhand in Nasik Dist. p. 90.
 Mekalasutā, = Narmadā, p. 278.
 Melpāti, = Melpadi in Chittur Taluka of North Arcot, p. 279; 285*, 291.
 Melizeigara, = Modern Jayagad mentioned in Periplus, p. 59.
 Merkara Copperplate grant, a note on it, p. 420-422.
 Meru, p. 161n2, 272*, 273
 Mhāpana, a village, p. 211
 Miraj, p. 171; M. Dist, under Kolhapur Śilāhāras, p. 209.
 Miraj Inscription, p. 263: its statement about Early Cā Kings, *ibid*; Miraj grant of a Later Cā. K., p. 113, 134, 188.
 Miraj Plates (about Early Cālukyas), p. 65, 67, 81, 109, 111.
 Mirañja, p. 172. = Miraj, (q. v.)
 Mogalikā, a village in Gujarath? p. 328,* 334
 Mohama or Mohamagrāma, a village = present Mohgaon, in Chindwada Dist Nagpur, C. P. p. 104, 298, 300, 305, 311, 316f.
 Mohagaon, See under Mohamagrāma.
 Moholocha, p. 20, = Mahārāstra (q. v.).
 Morv(b)l Copperplate, transcribed, translated &c., p. 243-45; 391; Morvi copperplate grants, p. 178, 180f, 395; eclipse in a M. grant, p. 397; 388; Morvi plate, p. 404.

Mudgala, a place, p. 158.
 Mūlaka, a province, p. 25n2.
 Mulgund, Jain Temple Inscription, p. 96, 206.
 Mysore = Mahisapura, p. 339.
 —Copperplate grant, p. 110.
 —Inscriptions, 204, 206.
 —Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 21f.

N

Nadvat, a country mentioned by Pānini, p. 13.
 Nagar, (near Tonk, Northern India) Mālava coins found there, p. 409.
 Nagarahāra, a province of Uttarāpatha, p. 425*, 427.
 Nagpur, in C. P., p. 81, 212.
 —Inscription, p. 213.
 Nāgapura—Nandivardhana, a province, p. 293, 304*, 305, 307, 316*, 317; see also Nandivardhana.
 Nālandā, in Magadha or Bihar, p. 356, 425, 426*, 428; the Monastery, there, p. 425.
 Nāmbhī, a lake, p. 324,* p. 333.
 Nānāghāt Inscription(s), p. 9, 29, 34, 203, 367, 413; images and names of Śātavāhana Kings there; p. 23.
 Nānamgola, = a village on the sea-coast, p. 24, 381.
 Nandivardhana, a province, p. 300,* 305, 315*, 317. See also Nāgapur—Nandi°.
 Nandur or Nandor, = Nandipura, p. 339.
 Nārikela Island, p. 360.
 Narmadā, R.; not in Dakṣiṇāpatha, acc. to Vāyu Purāṇa, p. 6; 25, 71, 92, 152.

Narmadātatadeśa, p. 6.

Nasik, claimed as the Pañcavati of Rāma, p. 8; doubtful nature of the claim; the identification upheld by Purānas, p. 9; Nasik mentioned as Nāsikya by Kātyāyana, p. 14

Nasik (Cave) Inscriptions, pp. 23-28, 61, 39f; 58, 202f, 216, 219, 222, 366ff, 377, 413; language of the N. Inscriptions, pp. 367ff; Nasik Caves, p. 208; their architecture, p. 356f.

Nasik Merchant's Inscription, at Bedsa, p. 62; Ābhira or Gauḍi rule over N., p. 64.

Nasik Grant of Nāgavardhana, p. 83

Nasik Ābhira Inscription, p. 218

Nasik (generally), p. 137n, 138

Nāsikya, = Nasik mentioned by Kātyāyana, p. 14

Navanara, a town? p. 26; = Navanagara; and to be identified with Paithan or extension of old Paithan? p. 60.

Navasāri, Capital of Gujarath Cālukyas, p. 77.

Navasari Copperplates, their two sets transcribed, translated &c., p. 318-334; (referred to) p. 66n, 85n1, 86, 88, 93, 95, 97, 205, 276, 293.

Nepal Inscription, Gupta year in it, p. 388.

Nerur grant; N. in Savantawadi State, p. 73f, 80, 204.

Nignur, a village near Karhad, p. 280.

Northern Circars, p. 15,

Oze(o)ne = Ujjayini, mentioned in Periplus, p. 184; mentioned by Ptolemy, p. 39; capital of 'Tiasstenes', p. 183f. (See under Ujjayini).

P

Paithan, or Paithana; on the Godāvari; = Pratisthāna; = Baithana, mentioned as B. or Paithana in Periplus, 18, 184; and by Ptolemy, p. 18; capital of a kingdom, p. 22, 41; younger Āndhrabhrtya line reigning at P., p. 46; capital of Pulumāyi, p. 47f, 37; cap. of Śātavāhanas, p. 208; Śālivāhana of Paithan, p. 52f; P. = Navanagara, p. 60; its distance from Barugaza acc. to Periplus; greatest city in Dakṣināpatha, p. 58. See also Baithana and Pratisthāna.

Paithan Grant or Plates or Copper-plate charter, p. 144n2, 149, 159-162.

Palaipatmai, = Pal, near Mahad, mentioned in Periplus, p. 59.

Pālatirolahma (?), a division of Surāstra? p. 242.

Palitana Inscriptions, p. 213.

Pallava country, conquered and governed by Kṛṣṇa III, Rās. k., p. 279f.

Pampā lake, p. 16.

Pañcāla (country), p. 13, 374f.

Pañcavati, p. 8. See also under Nasik.

Pañcagangā, R. near Kolhapur, p. 418.

Pandharpur Dist., under the rule of Early Cālukyas, p. 73.

Pandharpur Inscription, p. 161.
 Pandregamv, a village near Karhad, p. 280. See also Pendurem.
 Pandyas, = Modern Madurā province, p. 5; referred to in the Rāmāyana, p. 10; P. country noticed by Kātyāyana, p. 13, 17.
 Panhala Hill fortress, p. 171, 173.
 Panjab, Central and Lower, p. 408, 409.
 Pārādā, a River ? p. 24, 373.
 Paraulya, a village, p. 211.
 Parel Government House Inscription, p. 209.
 Pārlyātra (Mountain) = Northern and Western portion of Vindhya, p. 7, 25.
 Parnakheta, Capital founded by Mallagi, p. 194* ; 143.
 Pāta, a village, p. 211.
 Pātālputra, in Magadha, p. 17.
 Pātālputra, (different from above ?), p. 324,* 333.
 Patānaka, a village, p. 228,* 233.
 Patna, in Chalisgaon Division in Khandesh, p. 156.
 Pattadakal in Kaladgi Dist., p. 80.
 Pattadakal Inscription, p. 90.
 —temples, p. 208.
 Peheva Stone Inscription, p. 212.
 Pendurem, a village near Karhad, p. 280, 285,* 292. See also Pandregamv.
 Pinditakāvade, p. 24, 379.
 Pithal Khora Inscriptions, p. 22 ; P. near Chalisgaon, *ibid*.
 Poskarani, a place, p. 24.

Prabhāsa or Somanātha Paṭṭana, p. 23.
 Pratisthāna, (= Paithan, q. v.), p. 22, 267.
 Prayāga, a place near Kolhapur, p. 172.
 Prayāgas, two-one Modern Allahabad, another near Kolhapur, p. 172.
 Puri, Capital of North Konkan Mauryas and Śilāhāras, p. 70n5, 170.
 —Mistress of Western Sea, p. 70f.

R

Rācchavram, a place, = modern Raohed, p. 246f, 252, 253,* 255.
 Rādhanapur, in N Gujarath, p. 81.
 Rādhanapur grant of Govinda III, Rās. k., p. 66n, 87n2, 89f, 91n2, 107, 188, 339.
 Rājagrha, 374f; ruins at R. p. 425.
 Rājāpur, Taluka of Ratnagiri Dist., p. 217.
 Rājāpur grant, p. 169.
 Rājaputānā, p. 1; Śaka monarchy in it, p. 361: formerly Western R. called Gurjaratrā, p. 410.
 Rājasimheśvara Temple, p. 80.
 Raksaraputra(?), a village, p. 242.
 Rāmatirtha, p. 24, 379f.
 Rāmeśvara, p. 92; a triumphal column erected there by Kṛṣṇa III, Rās K. p. 278, 284,* 291.
 Roikas, a Southern country, p. 7.
 Revatidvipa, old name of Redi, near Vengurla, p. 68 & n4, 204; conquered by Mangaliā, Early Cā. K., p. 68, 270.

S

Sahabazgarhi, in Afghanistan;

- Edict of Aśoka, found there ;
p. 17, p. 200.
- Sahya or Sahyādri, Mt., p. 6, 23,
25, 170.
- Sahyādri Cave Inscriptions,
Indian and foreign kings
mentioned in them, p. 33-35.
- Saindhava, = Modern Sind, p. 77.
- Śālatura, a place in the country
to the West of the Indus, p.
232 and n4.
- Salgar, a village near Karhad,
p. 280.
- Salotgi Inscription, p. 102.
- Samangad, near Kolhapur, p. 81.
- Samangad Grant of Danti-
durga, p. 206 ; S Copperplate,
grant, p. 81, 86n2.
- Sārnki, a village, p. 328*, 334.
- Sanchi Topes, p. 411.
- (I) Samgameśvara, capital of a
Later Cālukya branch in
Konkan, p. 207, 127.
- (II) Samgameśvara, on the con-
fluence of Malaprabhā and
Kṛsnā rivers (where Basava's
favourite shrine was), p. 130;
different from the preceding ?
- Sangamner grant, p. 137.
- Sangli grant of Govinda IV,
Rās. K., p. 188; Sangli grant(s)
or plates, p. 85n1, 97ff, 107,
296, 309.
- Sarasvati R., = modern Sarsuti,
p. 7.
- Sarathuam, a village, p. 253*,
255.
- Śarkarāpadraka, a village and
district, p. 228*, 233.
- Sārtha, a place on the Varadā, p.
164.
- Śastibhavasatkṛaksetra, name
of a field ? p. 233.
- Satara Copperplate Inscription,
p. 73.
- Satiyaputta, mentioned as an
outlying province in Aśoka's
edicts, p. 21.
- Saundatti, in Belgaum District,
p. 112; see also Sugandhavarti.
- Saundatti Jain Temple Inscrip-
tion, p. 95, 97.
- Saurāstra, p. 77.
- Saurāstrika, p. 12n2; see also
under Surāstra.
- Savantwadi District, p. 73.
- Śelāravadi, between Khandala &
Pona, connected with Śilāhā-
ras ? p. 174.
- Semulla = Chemur or Chaul, .
mentioned in Periplus, p. 59.
- Seunadeśa, = province from Nasik
to Devagiri (Daulatabad); situ-
ated on the confines of the
Dandakāranya, p. 138; name
preserved in Khandesh, p. 138;
145, 193*, 198*.
- Seunapura, a town founded by
Seunacandra I, Early Ya. king,
p. 138.
- Shahbazgari, in Afghanistan.
See under Sahabazgarhi.
- Sihur, = Simhapura, p. 88.
- Sijur, a village near Karhad,
p. 280.
- Simhala, = Ceylon, p. 104.
- Simhaladvīpa, p. 284*, 290; 300*,
304, p. 314*.
- Simhapura, a place, p. 228*, 233.
- Simhur = Simhapura, p. 339.
- Sirur Inscription, p. 94.
- Sind, Saka monarchy in it,
p. 361.

Śirur=Śrīpura, p. 88, 339.

Siyadoni Stone Inscription, p. 212.

Somanātha (Pattana) p.23; Somanātha P.inscription, p. 178, 202, 250, 260; as Somanātha, p. 391.

Sonari Tope, near Bhilsā, p. 411.

Sorpāra(g)ka, = Sopara, near Bassein, p. 23f, 62, 380. See Souppara, Supara and Śūrpāraka.

Souppara = Modern Supara; = Skr. Śorpāraka of Inscriptions and Purānas; mentioned in Periplus, p. 59. See also under Supara, and Śūrpāraka, Sōrpāraka.

South Arcot Inscriptions, p. 279

Southern Maratha Country, p. 4

Śresthagiri, Mt, p. 25.

Śrībhavana, a place not yet identified, p. 91.

Śrīnagara, Yādava capital, p. 137; 193*.

Śrī Śaila, containing the famous Mallikārjuna temple; in Karnul Dist., Madras Presidency, p. 86n3.

Śrīvardhana, town, captured by Bhillama V, p. 194*.

Sudarśana Lake, near Junaçad, Sudarśana Lake Inscriptions, p. 200-202.

Sugandhavarti = Saundatti in Belgaum Dist.; p. 205.

Sumatra, Island, called "Lesser Java" by Mahomedans, p. 359.

Sūnthavadaka, a village, p. 251f. 253*, 255.

Supara, Aśoka Edict there; p.21f, Supara coin, p. 31n; Supara stūpa, p.31. See also Sōrpāraka and Souppara, Śūrpāraka.

Surāstra, = Southern Kathiawad, p. 12n2, 25n2, 39n1, 41f, 178, 228*, 409.

Surāstra coins, p. 214f, 222.

Śūrpā(a)raka, = Modern Sopara near Bassein, p. 17; Capital of North Konkan, p. 18; See also Sōrpāraka and Souppara.

Surtham or Sarathaum or Aratham, a place ?, p. 251.

Suvarnadvīpa, = Sumatra; mentioned in Rāmāyana; p. 360.

Suvarnamukha, a place, p. 24.

T

Tagara, an early famous town, existing in Āndhrabhrtya and Cālukya times, p. 169; to be identified with Dhārur or Devagiri or Junnar? p. 58ff; an inland town, merchandise from it exported to the West; its distance from Paithan acc. to Periplus; mentioned in grants, p. 58

Tagarapuravarādhīśvara, p. 169.

Tagarēśvārābhūhrt, p. 169n2.

Tagoung, a place, some 200 miles above Mandalay, p. 363; a note on the figured bricks found there, pp 363-365; the letters on the bricks resemble N. Indian characters, p. 364.

Tailangas, p. 150, 159, 149. See also Trikalingas.

Tālapurumsaka, a village in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, p. 293, 300,* 305, 307 & n1, 316,* 317, 298, 311.

Tambapanni or Ceylon, p. 21.

Tañjal = Tañjapura = Tañjavūr = Tanjore, p. 279; Capital of Cola princes, ibid.

Tanjore, p. 16. See also Tañjal, above.

Tāpi (river), p. 6, 24, 138, 152, 373.

Tāpi-Taṭa-Deśa, p. 6.

Tārā, Temple of Tārā in Java = Chandi Kali Bening, p. 357.

Ta-Thsin=Daksina (q. v.), p. 5

Tavsi, a village near Karhad, p. 280.

Telugu Districts, as probable place of sacrificial Ritual writers, p. 83.

Tenna, a village in the Lāta country = Tena in Navasāri Dist. in Baroda State, p. 98, 318, 321, 324,* 333.

Teravātaka,=Teravāvan, a village (in Ratnagiri Dist.), p. 126f.

Teur or Tevur, see under Tri-pura.

Thana Plates (copperplate grant, grants), pp. 160ff.

Tilivalli, in Dharwar Dist., p. 278; T. Inscription, p. 151.

Tiravāda, a capital of Gandarāditya Kolhapur Śilāhāra k., p. 172.

Tirukkalukkuraram Inscriptions; T. in Chingleput Dist., Madras Presidency, p. 278f.

Titur, a village near Karhad, p. 280.

Tolajaka, a village in Gujarath, p. 328,* p. 334.

Trailokyeśvara Temple, at Patta-dakal, p. 80.

Trikalingas,=Tailangas, p. 149.

Tripura, = Tevur, near Jabbal-pore, capital of Cedis, p. 65, 68, 114, 128, 151, 339, 341.

Triraśmi Mount, in Govardhana Dist., p. 23.

Tudāka Country, p. 80.

Tungabhadra, p. 91f; pp. 115-118.

U

Udrapadraka, a village, p. 242.

Ujjayini, p. 40f, 53, 86, 203, 409; see also Ozene.

Ulavi, a town invested by Kalacuries, p. 131.

Umbarā, a village in the Lāta country,=Modern Bāgumbra, p. 318, 321, 328*, 334.

Utkala,=Modern Ganjam; p. 17; =Orissa, p. 143

Uttarāpatha, p. 272*, 273, 425*, 427.

V

Vaidarbha, mentioned by Patañjali, p. 14, = Berar, p. 18. See also Vidarbha.

Vaijayanti, in N. Kanara, mentioned in Kadamba Inscription, p. 59, =Buzantion of Periplus; = doubtfully Vijayadurga, p. 60; = Modern Banavasi, p. 60, 62.

Valabhi, a capital in Hwan Thsang's time, p. 223, 226; 228; a Buddhistic seal found at V., p. 365.

Valavāta, = Modern Valavda, a capital of Gandarāditya Kolhapur Śilāhāra k., p. 172.

Valiśa, a village, p. 324,* 333.

Valūraka, a place=Karla? p. 25; 61.

Vanavāsi, p. 19, 68, 210. See also Banavāsi and Vaijayanti.

Vanga, p. 120.

Vani-Dindori Grant of Govinda

III, Rās. king, p. 87n2, 89, 90 & n1, 91n2, 92, 189f.
 Varadā, River, p. 22.
 Varadapallikā, a village (in Gujarath ?), p. 324,* 333.
 Varanda R., = modern Wand Kharee, p. 251. 253,* 255.
 Vāranera, a place, p. 253,* 255.
 Vāsanauvana, p. 426n.
 Vātāpipura, = modern Badami, p. 67, 79.
 Vathiyuna, a village, p. 324,* 333.
 Vattaci, a village, p. 346,* 351.
 See also Battaci and Badaci.
 Vattakasatkaksetra, name of a field ? p. 228*, 233.
 Vellore Inscription, p. 279.
 Vengi, = province between Lower Kṛsnā and Godavārī, p. 73, 115, 117.
 Veraval Inscription, (Col. Tod's), p. 388f, 398f.
 —(Bhagavanlal's), p. 388.
 Vengurla, p. 211.
 Vetasvat, a country mentioned by Pānini, p. 13.
 Vetravati R., = Betva, p. 17.
 Vidarbha, p. 6 ; = Berar, the oldest Aryan Settlement in South, p. 7f ; p. 15, 17, 22, 25. See also Vaidarbha.
 Vidiśā, capital of Daśārūa (q. v.); mentioned by Kālidāsa, p. 17 ; = Bhilsā, p. 22, 409.
 Vijayadurga, p. 60.
 Vijayanagara Territory ; its extent, p. 211.

Vijaya-Revatīdvīpa, same as Revatīdvīpa (q. v.), p. 270.
 Vindhya, the Southern boundary of Aryan settlements, p. 7 ; 12, 17, 321,* 325,* 329 ; countries S. of Vindhya not formerly known to Indian Aryans, p. 15.
 Vindhyaśvat Mt., p. 25.
 Viñchīyakaksetra, name of a field, p. 228.*
 Vinhalasatkka, name of a well, p. 228,* 233.

W

Walner, = Vāranera mentioned in the Gujarath grant, p. 251.
 Wardha grant of plates, p. 89, 90, 95, 97ff, 103, 319ff.
 —(plates), p. 85 & n1, 87, 104, 318.

Y

Yaśovarmapura, a place ; Y.
 Vihāra, p. 426 & n ; 427 & n.
 Yavadvīpa, = Java, p. 359f ; mentioned in Rāmāyana, p. 360.
 Yepoti (Chinese), = Skr. Yavadvīpa (q. v.) = Java, p. 359.
 Yerlā, a river in Karhad Dist., = Vannā in Kanhavannā, p. 280.
 Yevur Tablet, p. 65, 67, 81, 109.
 Yodhāvaka a village, p. 226, 239f.

Z

Zoro Jongran, a place in Java, a temple there, p. 357.

Besides the usual geographical and other abbreviations (such as R. = river, Mt. = Mount or Mountain, K. = King &c.), other abbreviations used are E. Cā. = Early Cālukya, L. Cā. = Later Cālukya. Rās. = Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The asterisk* shows that the word occurs in Sanskrit text.

INDEX NO. II.

INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS AND OTHER PROPER NAMES OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

A

Agastya, (sage) his hermitage; his crossing the Vindhya, p. 7f; 106*n1; 124 & n2.
Agni, god, p. 69, 279; his child is gold, p. 325*, 333.
Agniṣṭoma, (sacrifice), p. 346*, 351.
Agnihotra, p. 253*, 255, 324*, 329*, 333.
Atri, son of Brahmadeva, p. 321*, 325*, 330.
Anubandha, used in double sense, p. 227*, 231n5, 232.
Aniruddha, (son of Pradyumna), p. 193*.
Anivartakanivartayitr, a title, p. 77.
Annasattra, p. 372.
Anurāga, used in double sense, p. 227*, 232&n5; 284*, 290 & n2; 300*, 304; 315*.
Andhaka, an ancient K., p. 192*.
Apaṇyatara, free carriage across (a river), p. 377.
Apṭoryāma, (sacrifice), p. 161.
Appa, or **Appayya** as ending in the names of Tailanga or Southern Brahmana, p. 298, 311.
Ambariṣa, p. 26.
Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava Prince; mentioned by Pāṇini, p. 16, 26, 142.
Arjuna, son Guhādhyā a donee, p. 228*, 233.

Artha, p. 227*; (used in double sense),
Artha, in Dative Tatpuruṣa, p. 378.
Arthavibhāga, division of things (Buddhist Philosophy), p. 353*, 355.
Arha, as araha in Pali, p. 369.
Arhat, Jina, p. 172.
Avanijānāśraya, a title, p. 77.
Avīci, a Buddhistic hell, p. 375.
Āśvamedha, sacrifice, p. 272*, 773
Ahirāja, (the mythological serpent Śeṣa), p. 282*, 287; 299*, 302, 313*.

Ā

Ākalitasamadārāma, used in double sense, p. 283*, 289.
Ākāśagangā, p. 345*, 349.
Āgama, used in double sense, p. 227, 234&n5, 232.
Ājivikas, sect of, p. 200.
Āditya, god, p. 69, 110f, 270.
Ādityadeva, pupil of Śrīpāda, composer of the Kalacuri grant p. 340, 347*, 352.
Ādeśa, used in double sense, p. 227*, 232n2.
Āmnāta, =laid down authoritatively, p. 406, 4 8.
Āyuktaka, p. 358.
Āyudhajivins, = professional soldiers, p. 408f.

(I) Āyuh, an ancient King, p. 191*.

(II) Āyuh, (different from above),
an ancient K., p. 192*.

Āryā, metre, p. 356, 363.

Āvasatha (dha), p. 372; meaning
of it, p. 373.

Āvasathadāna, p. 373.

Indu, = moon, born of Atri, p. 191;
321*, 326*, 330.

I

Indra, god, p. 66, 157, 282*, 287.

—story of his transferring his
sin to earth &c., p. 241n2.

Indragupta, a Brahman (his son
Viradeva adopted Buddhism),
p. 425*, 427.

Indrāgnidatasa, p. 382.

Ī

Īśānaśiva, name of a Śaiva ascetic,
p. 285*, 292.

Īśvara, (god), p. 172.

Īśvaragrha, = Temple of Śiva
(with reference to Ellora
Kailāsa Temple), p. 281*, 287,
299*, 302, 313*.

U

Udaya, used in double sense, p.
227*, 232 & n6.

Udisa, for uddiśya (Pali, Ud-
desetvā), p. 368.

Udicpatha, p. 426*, 428

Udras, a people conquered by
Sahadeva, p. 16.

Upajanitvā, (for Upajanya), p.
369.

Upayukta = Employees, p. 284*,
291.

Upāya, = means (three, in Bud-
dhist sense), p. 353*, 354 & n1.

Upendra, = Visnu, p. 227, 230 &
n3; 321, 324*, 325*, 328f, 332.

Upendravairā, metre, p. 356.

Ubhato, = Ubhayato, p. 375.

Ubhayatah, p. 375.

Uru, = bulky, p. 404.

Urvīdhara, used in double sense,
p. 344*, 348 & n.

Uśana, an ancient K., p. 192*.

Ū

Ūru, (at the end of a compound),
p. 404.

R

Rsiyappa, a Brahman donee, p.
293, 307.

E

Ekadeśi anvaya, p. 408.

K

Ka, (skr. affix), the original of
the vernacular ending ā, p. 339.

Kantaka, used in double sense, p.
322*, 327*, 331.

Kata, = Kātya Śākhā, p. 293,
300*, 305.

Kam, = head, 321*, 325*, 329.

Kambalabarhi, an ancient K.,
p. 192.

Kamsa, p. 197, 321*, 325*, 329.

Kampā, used in double sense,
p. 284*, 290 & n2, 300*, & 304
& n2, 315*.

Kara, used in double sense, p. 232
and n7.

Karagraha, used in double sense;
p. 284*, 290 & n2, 300*, p. 304,
& n2, 315*.

Karambhi, an ancient K., p. 192*.

Karkasvāmin, a grantee of E. C.
times, p. 83.

Karkasvāmin, the writer of that
name probably to be referred to
E. C. times; *ibid*.

Karmadhāraya, = Appositional compound, p. 336, 401, 408.
 Karmasya, in Pali, p. 369.
 Kalamaksetra, rice field; p. 346*, 351.
 Kalā, = Digit of the moon, also = Art; p. 227, * 231n4.
 Kalākalāpa, p. 227*.
 Kali, p. 227, 231 & n1, 252, * 254.
 Kalitakamalapāni, used in double sense, p. 323, * 327, * 332.
 Kalpa, [Period of world time] p. 121.
 Kalpataru, = wish-fulfilling tree, p. 426, * 428 & n.
 Kawi, = old Javanese dialect, p. 359.
 Kāñci, used in double sense, (I) the town of that name, (II) the girdle, p. 322*, 326*, 330.
 Kāndīśikāh, = cowards, p. 344, * 348.
 Kānva, p. 104, 293, 300*, 305, 307, 315, 317.
 Kānva, school of White Yajurveda, present near Nagpur, p. 298, 311.
 Kāpālikeśvara, God; a village in Nasik Dist., granted for his worship, 73; as Kāpāleśvara, p. 272, * 273.
 Kāmsa, (metal), p. 418.
 Kāma, God of love, p. 229.
 Kāma Sevati, for Kāmam Sevate, p. 369.
 Kārtikeya or Skanda, in connection with the revelation of Kātantra grammar, p. 54, 67; Kārtikeya only; as protector of Early Ca. kings, 272*, 273.
 Kārtavīrya, p. 283*, 289.

Kārmuka, = archery, p. 227*.
 Kārsāpanas, p. 24, 61.
 Kālapriya, God, p. 279, 284*, 291.
 Kāśyapa Gotra, p. 161, 247, 253*, 255.
 Kita, = Kata (Pali) p. 367.
 Kileśa, for Kleśa, p. 369.
 Kīrtana, (= temple) p. 335*; a sense not given in dictionaries p. 337; instances of the use of Kīrtana = temple, ibid.
 Kunda, flower, p. 322*, 326*, 331.
 (I) Kumāra, = Crown Prince, p. 277.
 (II) Kumāra, = God Kārtikeya, used in double sense, p. 283*, 289 & n, 299*, 303 & n3; 314*.
 Kumudāvali, used in double sense p. 281*, 286 and n1; 298, 301 & n1, 312*.
 Kubera, p. 229n6.
 Kurubala, an ancient, K. p. 192.
 Kuśali = Enjoying, health, its use in Inscriptions, p. 248.
 Kūta, = a group (in Rāstrakūta) p. 64
 Kūpa, = a well, p. 317.
 Kūrma, p. 426*, 428.
 √Kr, with Dāna, not unidiomatic, p. 371f.
 Kṛta age, p. 227*, 230 & n1.
 Kṛṣṇa, God, p. 128, 137, 155f, 197*, 230n3, 236, 344*, 347.
 Kṛṣṇeśvara, God, p. 279, 284*, 291.
 Keśava, (God) p. 26.
 (I) Keśavasvāmin, a grantee, p. 83.
 (II) Keśavasvāmin, the writer, to

be referred to Early Cālukya times, p. 83.
Kaitabha, a legendary demon, p. 283*, 289, 299*, 303, 314*.
Kailāsa, p. 281*, 287, 294, 299, 302, 308, 313*, 322*, 326*, 330, 345*, 349, 426*, 428.
Krathakuntī, an ancient K., p. 192*.
Krostr, an ancient K., p. 192*.
Ks
Ksatriya, p. 344*, 345*, 347*, 350f, 387.
Kṣāntya, saurabhyasampannāḥ, for Kṣāntisau°, p. 369.
Kh
Khajjāṇa, = Modern Khājāṇa = marshy land, p. 74.
G
Gaganaśiva, pupil of Īśānaśiva, an ascetic, a grantee, p. 275, 285*, 292.
Gangā, p. 229, 345*, 350.
Gana, a corporate community with common property, p. 407f.
Gaṇagalapāśa, 346*, 350.
Ganapati, on a seal, p. 306n2.
Gaṇasthiti, existence or formations a Gana (of the Mālavas) p. 407f.
Gandamārtanda, God, p. 279, 284*, 291.
Gatesu, = Elapsed as used with Śaka years and afterwards dropped, p. 189, 265.
Gandharva, p. 402.
Garuḍa, p. 169.
Gargasvāmin, a grantee, p. 83.
Gāṅga, used in a double sense, p. 283*, 290&n, 300*, 304&n2, 314*.

Gāthā dialect, pp. 367ff.
Gāndhikas in Śālivāhana times, p. 57.
Gāvah, = cows, daughters of the Sun, p. 325*, 333.
Girijā, = Pārvatī, p. 290*, 285, 298*, 301, 312*.
Guggula, (its offerings) p. 272*, 73.
Guna, used in a double sense, p. 232, 284*, 290.
Gunavṛddhi, used in double sense, p. 227*, 232&n3, 235.
Gunasaṅgaḥ used in double sense, p. 281*, 286n2, p. 299, 301n2; 312*.
Guru, = elder brother, p. 236.
Grhasthas, in Śālivāhana times, p. 57.
Gopāla, (God) p. 191*.
Govardhana (legendary mountain), p. 324*, 328*, 332.
Grāmapatis, p. 358.

Gh

Ghatam Kārakah (unsanskrit) and **Ghatasya Kārakah**, p. 380.
Ghāta, flight of steps, p. 371.
Ghalisa, a family name, p. 158.
Ghalisāsa, a family name, p. 158.
Ghaisāsa, a Citpāvan family name, p. 158, 173.

C

Catussālāvasadha, p. 372f.
√ Car, with locative, p. 380.
Caraka, never used in its primary and etymological sense, p. 379.
Caraka = [persons belonging to the] **Caraka Śākhā**, p. 380.
Carakāḥ, its special sense =

Adhyayanārthaṁ Vratacara-
nāḥ—one observing a vow for
 the sake of study, p. 379.
Carana, Vedic schools of Brah-
 maṇas, p. 24; bodies of students
 of each Veda or Śākhā, p. 380.
Caru, p. 243,* 244, 253,* 255,
 324,* 329,* 333.
Cāraka, p. 379.
Calukyakula, p. 281,* 287.
Calukyakulālamkāra, a title, p. 77.
Calukyavamsa, p. 272,* 273, 322,*
 326,* 330.
Calukyānvayamandalika, p. 141
 n2.
Citpavana family names, p. 158.
Citraratha, an ancient K., p. 192.
Culuka, the hand hollowed, p. 66.
Caitya, p. 57, 412f.
Codenti, for codayanti, p. 369.
Cauri, p. 306n2.

Ch

Chandoga Veda, p. 228,* 233.
Chāṇḍasa language, of Pāṇini,
 p. 15.

J

Jage, (in Pali), p. 369.
Jaghanyadeśa, (used in double
 sense, (1) Lower part of the
 body and (2) Southern part of
 India), p. 322,* 326,* 330.
Jangamas, Lingayat priests,
 p. 129, 131.
Jajjaka, son of Śihāditya, a
 donee, p. 243*, 244.
Jajñagya, the writer of a grant,
 p. 244,* 245.
Janamejaya, p. 20.
Jannasvāmin, p. 83.
Jamaḍagni, the father of Paraśu-
 rāma (mythological), p. 227.

Jalasaṁādhi, p. 116.
Jahnavi, p. 226.
Jāinka, a Donor, p. 244,* 245.
Jāna, a vernacular word treated
 as a Skr. word from √ Jan ? p.
 140n.
Jinas, p. 353,* 355.
Jihvāmūliya, its symbol in in-
 scriptions, p. 248 & n.
Jimūta, an ancient K., p. 192.*
Jimūtavāhana, son of Jimūta-
 ketu, a Vidyādhara (Demi-god)
 p. 169; legendary founder of
 the Śilāhāras, p. 208; originally
 a Bodhisattva, mentioned in
 Buddhistic works, p. 209.
Jośis=Modern Astrologers, the
 language of their Patrikāś,
 p. 368.
Jyāmaya, an ancient K., p. 192.*
Jyotis, an ancient king, p. 191.*

T

Tatini, = the celestial river, p.
 345,* 349.
Tadāga, a bank, p. 371.
Tatpurusa (Dative), p. 378; one
 of the most difficult of com-
 pounds; ibid.
Tatpurusa (Genitive), p. 382*.
Tathāgata, p. 364.
Tapana, the Sun, p. 426,* 428.
Tamaḥprasara, used in double
 sense, p. 426,* 427f.
Tara, = crossing, p. 376f.
Tarapanya, = the fare of a ferry
 boat, p. 377.
Taruma (kha)nda,—its transcript
 and translation as occurring
 in an Inscription, p. 400.
Tarkakaundinya Nyāya, p. 241
 n2.

Tavāna, an unsanskrit title of an official in Java, = 'Deśādhyakṣa', p. 353,* 354 & n3; 355f, 358.

Tājika, a branch of Astrology, borrowed first from Arabs, p. 77.

Tājikas, = Arabs, p. 77.

Tāmprapatra, [= Copperplate], p. 246.

Tārā, a Buddhistic deity, p. 213.

Tilottamā, p. 343, 345,* 350.

Tirisa, an unsanskrit title of an official in Java, p. 353,* 354, & n3; = Deśādhyakṣa, p. 356, 358.

Tirtha, = a flight of steps, p. 371.

Tunga, as the family epithet of the Rāstrakūtas, p. 276.

Turuskas, = Mahomedans, p. 211.

Tejas, used in double sense, p. 283,* 288 & n3, 299,* 303 & n2, 314*.

Tripuravijayin, (= Śiva), p. 280,* 285, 298,* 301, 312.

Trivikramabhatta, son of Nemāditya, the writer of a Grant, p. 324, 329, 333.

Trivādi? as family name, p. 158.

Tvacamāmsam, p. 374.

D

Danda, used in double sense, p. 322,* 326, 331.

Dapdanāyaka, = minister of war, p. 125, 341.

Datta, = Dinna (Pāli) p. 367.

Dara, = little, p. 404.

Darabhāskaraja, (its trans. as occurring in an Inscription), p. 403f.

(I) Daśaratha, (father of Rāma); no allusion to him in Pāṇini and

Patañjali and Amarasiṃha, p. 16.

(II) Daśaratha (of the Yadu race) p. 192*.

Daśārha, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Dasyus, p. 10.

Dāna, in double sense, p. 254n1.

Dāsasvāmin, p. 83.

Dilipa, p. 283*, 289.

Divirapati Skandabhata, son of Divirpati Vaśabhata, an Engraver of a grant, p. 228,* 234.

Dirghavalabhini, (as occurring in an Inscription), its trans. p. 400f.

Deddaka, son of Śamkara, the engraver of a Valabhi grant, p. 244,* 245.

Devaksetra, an ancient K., p. 192*.

Devagana, a sect of the Mūla Samgha (Digambara Jain), p. 82.

Devamidhusa, an ancient K, p. 192*.

Devarāja, an ancient K, p. 192*.

Devasvāmin, a grantee of E. C. times p. 83, another of the same name, ibid; the writer of that name to be referred to E. C. times, ibid.

Devānām piye hevamāha, as written on the Ganjam Rock Inscription, p. 424.

Devī, as title of a queen and not of a mistress, p. 343.

Deśādhyakṣas, authorities of the country, p. 353,* 354, 356.

Daitya, p. 281,* 286, 299, 301, 312*.

Desaprakopavisamaprakṛti, used in double sense, p. 282,* 288 & n3, 299,* 303 & n2, 314*.

Dvandva compound, p. 374, 378.

Dh

Dhakkā, a drum, sign of paramount power, p. 79.

Dhanurveda, p. 227*, 232.

Dhanvantari, physician of gods, p. 426*, 428.

Dharanī, Earth, p. 375.

Dhānyakāśrenis, = corn-dealers in Śātavāhana times; their guilds, p. 57.

Dhārini, the chief queen in Mālavikāgnimitra, p. 343.

Dhamagupta, = Dharmagupta, a donor, his name found on Kolhapur remains, p. 412.

Dharmaśāstra, p. 370.

Dharmasetu, p. 285*, 292, 300*, 301, 316*, 317.

Dharmātma, = Yudhisthira, p. 300*, 305, 315*, 317.

Dharmātman, its meaning, p. 381f; not a Buddhistic technical term, p. 382

Dhromvattha, 346*, 350.

N

Naksatras, p. 399.

Naghu(hu)sa, an ancient king, p. 191*, 243*, 245. See also Nahusa.

Nandin, the bull of Siva, p. 129.

Nandivāmin. a grantee of E. C. times, p. 83.

Nabhāga, an ancient King, p. 26.

Navaratha, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Nala, an ancient K. p. 346*, 350.

Nahusa, an ancient K. p. 26, 346*, 350. See also Naghusa.

Nāgammasvāmin, a grantee of E. C. times, p. 83

I Nārāyana (God), p. 67, 27, 273.*

II Nārāyana, son of Govinda, a donee in a grant, p. 247.

III Nārāyana, as Rāma (the anonymous writer of grants); as Rāmacandra, p. 347,* 351, 352*.

Nārāyanabali ceremony, p. 68.

Nāligera, = Skr. Nārikela, p. 381, 383.

Nāvā, Pali form of Skr. Nau, p. 376.

Nāvā-punyatara-kara, its meaning, p. 373, 376

Nigamasabhā, = Town Corporation, p. 61.

Nibandhas, began to be written in Later Cā. and Kalacuri periods, p. 133.

Niyuktaka, p. 358.

Niriksatha (Pali), p. 69

Nivartana, a measure; its definition, p. 340 & n; 346,* 351.

Nivrtti, an ancient K., p. 192*.

Nihsanga, used in two senses, p. 345;* 349.

Nūpuras, p. 322, 326,* 330.

Nrga, an ancient king, p. 243,* 245.

Nrsanku, an ancient king, p. 192.

Nrsimha, in double sense, p. 321,* 325,* 329.

Naigama, = a body of merchants trading with foreign countries, p. 407, 57.

Nau, as Nāvā, p. 376

Nyāya, a principle, p. 241n2.

P

Paksaksaya, used in double sense, p. 323,* 327,* 331f.

Pankura, an unsanskrit title of

- an official in Java, called "Deśādhyaksa", p. 353,* 354 & n3, 355f. 358.
- Pangoran, a title applied to sons and daughters of Javanese sovereigns, p. 358. See also Paṅkura.
- Pañcamahāpātakas, p. 253,* 255, 285,* 292, 300,* 305, 316,* 317.
- Pañcamahāpātakasamaya, five cardinal Sins, p. 243*, 244.
- Pañcamahāyājña, p. 253*, 255.
- Pañcamahāśabda, p. 252*, 254.
- Pañcaśabda, p. 196.*
- Pañcāṅga, Hindu Almanac, p. 267; its statement about founders of different Eras, p. ibid.
- Patavardhana, (as family name) p. 158.
- Pattabandha, =Coronation ceremony, p. 320, 328*.
- Pattabandhotsava, p. 324*, 329*, 332.
- Panya, = price, p. 377f
- Pattaka, a square measure, p. 228*, 233n4.
- Patrikāś, (=Horoscopes); their language presenting a mixture of correct and incorrect Sanskrit and Vernacular, p. 368
- Pant, =a Marathi honorific suffix p. 182.
- Payodhara, used in double sense, p. 254n2.
- Parapratyaya, p. 227*, (double sense.)
- Paramamahēśvara, as epithet of Valabhi ruling kings p. 237.
- Parasurāma, (mythological), p. 324*, 328, 332; See also Rāma (II).
- Parājīti, an ancient K., p. 192*.
- Parāśara, p. 347*, 351.
- Paripūrītāśaḥ, used in double sense, p. 281*, 286 & n1, 298,* 301 & n1, 312*.
- Parimalita, used in a double sense, p. 283,* 290 & n, 300,* 304 & n2, 314*.
- √Parivraja, =to wander, p. 379.
- Parisads, = Vedic Brahmanic schools, p. 24.
- Parsad, = (1) a congregation, p. 379; (2) learned leaders of a Śākha, p. 380, 381, 383.
- Pallava, used in a double sense, p. 283,* 290 & n, 300, 304 & n1, 314*.
- Pahlavas, 39n1; adopt Buddhism, p. 57.
- Pānavika, p. 346,* 350.
- Pādāvarta, a square measure, p. 228,* 233n2.
- Pālidhvaja, a sign of paramount power, p. 79.
- Pārvatī, p. 343, 345,* 350; shewn riding on a lion on a seal, 306n2
- Pindapāta, (Buddhist term), explained, p. 240n.
- Pinākāpāni, = Śiva, p. 282,* 288, 299,* 303, 313*.
- Pinākin (Śiva), p. 283,* 289, 299,* 303, 314*.
- Puṇḍras, as progeny of Viśvāmitra; living in South, p. 11.
- Punya, p. 378.
- Pura, as ending in names of places, = "ur," "ura" or "a" in Vernacular, p. 339; 88
- Purāṇaparāyaṇaḥ, p. 192*.

Purāpapurusa, = Kṛṣṇa (god),
p. 281*, 286 : 299, 301, 312*.

Purusottama, = Viṣṇu, p. 191,*
326*; used in a double sense,
p. 284,* 290, 300,* 304, 315*.

Puruhotra, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Purūravas, p. 191*.

Pulindas, a people on the
Narmadā, p. 6; progeny of
Viśvāmitra; living in South;
p. 11; as referred to in Purānas,
ibid, p. 18.

Pūrītāsah, used in double sense,
p. 426,* 427f

Pūrvāparajalanidhi, Eastern and
Western oceans, p. 284*, 290,
300*, 304, 314*.

Pūsan, = Sun, p. 426*, 428.

Prthuśravas, an ancient king,
p. 192*.

Prthivīvallabha, a title, p. 77.

Prakṛti, used in double sense,
p. 231n5, 232.

Pranava, = sacred syllable "Om",
p. 131.

Pratāpa, used in a double sense,
p. 283,* 290 & n; 300*, 304n2,
314*.

Pratiksatra, an ancient king,
p. 192*.

Pratibāhu, son of Vajra, an
ancient king, p. 193*.

Pratīśraya, a place where tra-
vellers put up and are fed
without charge, p. 372.

Pratīśrayadāna, p. 373.

Pratītyotpāda, (Buddhist term),
p. 355n2.

Pratyaya, used in double sense,
p. 231n5, 232.

Pradyumna, (son of Kṛṣṇa), p. 193*.

Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, son of Rānapa-
bhaṭṭa, a Brahman donee
p. 318, 328*.

Prabhākarasvāmin, a grantee of
E.C.K., p. 83.

Prayojana, (double sense), p. 227*.

Pravartmāne, as used with Śāka
years and afterwards dropped,
p. 189.

Prāptaprabha, used in double
sense, p. 426,* 427f.

B

Ba, Skr. always written as va
in a grant, p. 340.

Barisa for varsa, (Pāli, varṣa,)
p. 368.

Balarāma, brother of Kṛṣṇa (god),
p. 230n3.

Bali, p. 243,* 244, 253,* 255;
as (Vali), p. 283,* 289, 324,*
329,* 333.

Bali in Dative Tatpuruṣa, p. 378.

Balimandala, used in double sense,
p. 321,* 325,* 329.

Bahutitha, used in double sense,
p. 227.

Bahuvrīhi (compound), p. 339,
381, 401, 403.

Bahvrca, = R̥gveda, p. 253,* 255.

Bāra for Dvāra (Pāli), p. 367f.

Bārasaka for Vārsika, (Pāli
Vassika), p. 368.

Bālamma Thakkura, a grantee,
p. 272,* 273.

Biruda, = a title, p. 161.

Budha, son of Indu, p. 191*.

Buddha, p. 172.

Brhaspati, preceptor of gods, p.
229n5.

Be = Pāli Dve or Duve, p. 367.

Bodhi (tree) p. 425f, 427f*,

Brahmadeva, p. 66.
 Brahmanā, p. 343, 346*, 350.
 Brahmā, worshipped in Early
 Calukya times, 83; p. 79, 334.
 [Brā]hmana Araghāra, p. 243*,
 244.
 Brāhmanapayah, as a compound
 for Brāhmanāya payāh. wrong,
 p. 378.

Bh

Bhagīratha, an ancient K., p. 346*,
 350.
 Bhajamāna, an ancient K p 192.*
 Bhata, a (Valabhi) honorific
 suffix, p 182; a (general) hono-
 rific suffix, ibid
 Bhatta Narāyāna, son of Bhatta
 Govinda, a donee, p. 253*, 255.
 Bhattārakā° (in Nasik Inscrip-
 tion) p. 383.
 Bhadrāyanīyas, a sect of Buddhist
 priests, p. 25f, 26n.
 Bharata, an ancient K. p. 346*,
 350
 Bharatakalā, = arts of Bharata
 (music &c) p. 346*, 350.
 Bhallasvāmin, a grantee, p. 83.
 Bhavānī (Pārvatī) p 322*, 326*,
 330.
 Bhāradvāja, a sage, p 8. .
 Bhāradvājagotra, p 228, 233*,
 293, 300,* 305, 307, 315*, 317.
 Bhāradvājīyas, mentioned by Pa-
 tañjali, p. 14
 Bhāsā of Pānini, p. 15.
 Bhiksus, p 57; their mode of life;
 ibid; their clothing ceremony;
 ibid; p. 353*, 354.
 Bhīmaratha, an ancient K., p. 192*.
 Bhīmasēna, (Pāndava) p. 26.
 Bhisma, (of Kuru race), p. 142.

Bhūdaksinā, p. 353*, 355.
 Bhūmicchidranyāya; its meaning
 explained, p. 241n2.

M

Mankasvāmin, son of Guhādhyā
 a Brahman donee, p. 228*, 233.
 Mandala, p. 323*, 327*, 331.
 Mandalika, a prince; p. 202.
 Madana, p. 280*, 282*, 285, 288,
 298*, 299*, 301, 303, 312, 313,
 323, 327*, 331, 334.
 Madhu, an ancient K. p. 192*.
 Madhu, a legendary demon, p.
 283*, 289, 299*, 303; 314*,
 Madhyadeśa used in double
 sense, (1) middle part of the
 body, (2) country between
 Himālaya and Vindhya, p.
 322*, 326*, 330.
 Manāpa, (Pali), p. 369.
 Manu, p 227*, 231, 283*, 289; his
 race, p 110f.
 Manonyavadhavah (°vapusah),
 as occurring in an Inscription,
 p. 402f,
 Manobhava, = Madana, p. 300*,
 305, 315*, 317.
 Mandara, Mt, p. 426*, 428.
 Marutta, an ancient K. p. 192*.
 Mahāpradhāna, = Viceroy, p. 211.
 Mahābodhi, p. 426*, 427.
 Mahāmandalesvara, = a depend-
 ent prince, p. 125f, 169, 153n3,
 128, 173.
 Mahāmahāvārūṇitithi, p. 276&n1.
 Mahāyāna, = the great Vehicle,
 353*, 354.
 Mahālakṣmī, the tutelary deity
 of Kolhapur Śilāhāras, p. 174.
 Mahālakṣmī-labdha-vāra-prasā-

da, a title of Kolhapur Śilā-
hāras, p. 174.
Mahālayā, a deity. p. 164.
Mahālikarī, p. 223.
Mahāvaruṇī Tīthi, p. 276&n1.
Mahāsāmanta, p. 145.
Mahāsena, a deity, p. 210.
Mahēśvara, worshipped in Early
Cālukya times, p. 83; 79.
—, p. 229, 230, 231, 240.
Mādadanda, Māda Pole, p. 346*,
351.
Mātra, (group of deities) p. 210.
See also Sapta Mātr.
Mādhava (Hero of the Mālati-
Mādhava) p. 401.
Mādhyaṃdina School of Vājasena
= White Yajurveda, p. 318.
Mānavya, a hero connected with
the origin of the Cālukya
family, p. 67,
Mānavya, Gotra of the Cālukyas,
p. 109, 272*, 273; 210.
Mānavya race, p. 111.
Mamalatdar, p. 223.
Māyāya for Māyāyāh, p. 369.
Mārdalika, musical drum, p. 346*
350.
Mālati, (Heroine of Mālati-
Mādhava), p. 401.
Mālaye (in Nasik Inscription)
p. 383.
Mālavikā, heroine of Mālavikā-
gnimitra, p. 343.
Mālavya=a man ruling over
Mālava &c., p. 409.
Mahēśvara=Devotee of Mahe-
śvara 226f*, 228; 240, 242, 272*,
273. See also Paramamahē-
śvara.
Mudgala Gotra p. 151.

Munindra,=Buddha, p. 425, 427.*
Munsiffa, p. 223.
Murāri, (=Visnu), p. 192, 280,*
285; 298,* 301; 312*.
Murāri, (Kṛṣṇa, as progenitor of
Yādavas), p. 197*.
Mūtibas, as progeny of Viśvā-
mitra, p. 11.
Meru, p. 124,* 328*, 332, 344,* 347.
Maitrāyaṇīya, Śākha, p. 243*;
244, 393.
Moksa Bhosyati, for Mokso Bha-
visyati, p. 369.
Mlecchas,=Śakas, p. 177.

Y

Yajñasvāmin, a grantee, p. 83.
Yadu, an ancient king, p. 192*,
197*.
Yadu, race, p. 85.
Yaduvamśa, born of moon, p.
281*, 286, 299 301&n2, 312*,
321*, 326*, 330.
Yama, the Chastiser god, p. 344*,
348.
Yamalapatra,=a treaty of alli-
ance p. 153n3,
Yayāti, an ancient king., p. 26,
192*.
Yavanas, or Bactrian Greeks, p.
33; adopt Buddhism, p. 87.
Yaśam, (in Pali) p. 369.
Yaśam, and Yaśah both forms
met with in Gāthā writings,
p. 369.
Yādavavamśa, p. 193*.
Yuktaka,=officer, p. 242, 284*.
291.
Yudhisthira, (Pandava); men-
tioned by Pāṇini, p. 16; 867.
Ye dhamā hetupahava &c.,
(Buddhist formula)—Its Pali

form rare; a unique Indian relic containing it; reason of the prevalence of the Sanskrit form of—364f; significance of the formula; *ibid*.

Yogrāstyā, brother of Cevānāvera, the engraver of some plates, p. 301,* 305, 316,* 317.

Yosyagma, engraver of a grant, p. 285,* 292.

Yaugika sense, = etymological sense, p. 377.

R

Raksasas, = wild tribes, p. 10.

Raksita, in Dative Tatpuruṣa, p. 378.

Raghu (= Solar) Race, p. 122, 212.

Racane, to be probably read as Bhavane (in an Inscription), p. 403.

(I) Rājasimhah, for Rāmabhadrah, the anonymous writer of grants, p. 356.

(II) Rājasimha, = lion-like king, p. 353*, 355.

(I) Rāma, son of Daśaratha, p. 26, 197*, 282, 288, 299*, 300*, 303, 315, 314, 315*, 317.

—no allusion to him in Pāṇini and Patañjali and Amarasimha, p. 16.

(II) Rāma, = Paraśurāma (q. v.), p. 26*, 283*, 289.

(III) Rāma, Balabhadra, p. 16.

Rāmatīrthaṁ carakah, Rāmatīrthasya Carakah, (incorrect and correct, *respec.*), p. 380.

Rāmabhadra, anonymous writer of deeds, p. 285*, 292, 301*, 305, 316*, 317, 325*, 329*, 333.

Rao, a Marathi honorific Suffix, p. 182.

Rāvana, p. 323*, 327*, 331.

Rāstrapatis, p. 358.

Rāhu, p. 243*, 244.

Risiyappa, son of Bhāilla, a Brahman donor, p. 293, 300*, 305, 307, 315ff. See also Risiyappa.

Rukmakavaca, an ancient king, p. 192*.

Rudrasvāmin, a grantee of Early Cā. times, p. 83.

Rūdha sense, = secondary and conventional sense, p. 377, 379.

Reva, son of Mādhava, writer of a grant, p. 247f, 253*, 256.

Revāsvāmi Dikṣita, p. 83.

Romāñcādi, horripilation and other eight conditions of women, p. 345*, 349 & n1.

Raudra Dhanurbhanga, used in double sense p. 282*, 288 & n2, 299*, 303, 314*.

Lakṣmana (of Rāmāyana fame) p. 197*, 300*, 305, 315*, 317.

Lakṣmana Gotra, p. 318, 324*, 328, 333f.

Lakṣmī, (goddess), p. 231 & n2, 252*, 254, 280*, 285, 298*, 301, 312*, 321*, 325*, 329.

Lagnānukūlya, used in a double sense, p. 284*, 290n2, 300*, 304, 315*.

Langkara (Javanese), likely corruption of Namkara in Paṇamkarana, p. 538.

Lavanga trees, p. 322*, 326*, 330.

Lāt, = a Pillar, p. 201.

Linga (of Siva), p. 129; pictured

on the seal of the Deoli plates,
p. 306n2.

Lohasvāmin, a grantee, p. 83.

V

Vaṁśa, used in double sense,
p. 426*, 428 & n.

Vajra, son of Aniruddha (q. v.),
p. 193*.

Vajrāsana, (Buddhist deity),
p. 425f*, 427*.

Vajrāsanaśākhā, p. 426*, 428.

Vardhakas, carpenters in Śāta-
vāhana times, p. 57.

Varman(a) as affix of Kṣatriya
names, p. 354n2.

Varsāratum, as accusative =
"for the rains", p. 375

Valabhi, = a room on the top
of a palace, p. 401.

Vali = Bali, (q. v.), p. 289.

Vaśa, = moving cause or impel-
ling force, p. 407.

Vasantatilakā metre, p. 356.

Vasudeva, an ancient king
(father of Vāsudevakṛṣṇa),
p. 192*.

Vājasaneyi, Mādhyamdaya Śā-
khā, p. 324*, 333, 334.

Vāji, p. 293*, 300*, 305, 307, 315*,
317.

Vāji-Mādhyamdaya, p. 324*, 328,
333.

Vāpi, the name of a field? p. 233.

Vāṁśika, = flute, p. 346*, 350.

Vārūṇa Pāśa, fetters of Varuṇa,
p. 347*, 351.

Vārūṇi Tīthi, the auspicious
Mahāvārūṇi Tīthi, p. 276 & n1.

Vikāla, used in double sense,
p. 323*, 327*, 331, 332.

Vikṛti, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Vigraha, used in double sense,
p. 227*, 232 & n1.

Vijayakataka, victorious army,
p. 285*, 291.

Vijayavikṣepa, = interruption in
the race of victory, p. 252*,
254.

Vidadhāna, used in double sense,
p. 227*, 231n5, 232.

Vidarbha, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Vidūratha, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Vidūśaka, (in Mālavikāgnimitra)
p. 343.

Vidyādhara, a Demigod, p. 169.

Vidhāna, used in a double sense,
p. 227*, 232 & n3.

Viniyuktaka, = persons holding
commissions, p. 242.

Vindhya, p. 243*, 244.

Viriñca, = Brahmā, p. 283*, 89.

Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvastṛ, p.
241n2.

Viśvāmitra, sage, cursing the
progeny of his sons, p. 11.

Viśamaprakṛti, used in double
sense, p. 282*, 288* & n3, 299*,
303, & n2, 314.

Viṣṇu, God, p. 68, 79, 128, 208,
269, 323*, 325*, 327*, 331, 333.

—worsnipped in Cālukya
times, p. 33.

—his churning the ocean, p. 87n4.

Viṣṇu, p. 359, (invoked in Java).

Viṣṇuvāṁśodbhava title of Later
Yādava Kings, p. 155f.

Viśarga (grammatical term), p.
248, 407

Vihāras, p. 411.

Vihārāvasatha, a pleasure house,
p. 373.

Viradeva, son of Indragupta,

belonging to a Brahman family, and afterwards embracing N. Buddhism; a Buddhist Saint, 425*, 426*, 427f.
 Viranarayana, (God) p. 322*, 326*, 331.
 Vira-Laksmi, = the Soldier Laksmi, (goddess), p. 323*, 327*, 331.
 Vrijinivān, an ancient king, p. 192*.
 Vṛddhi, used in double sense, p. 232.
 Vṛṣṇi, an ancient K. p. 192*.
 Vetāla, king of Ghosts, p. 53.
 Vedas, (four) p. 233.
 Vedavyāsa Vyāsa, p. 253*, 256.
 See also under Vyāsa.
 Vedhas, = Brahmā, 321*, 325*, 329.
 Vaidyanātha Deva, a god, p. 209.
 Vaiśvadeva, p. 243*, 244.
 Vainika, = lute, p. 346*, 350.
 Vaiśvadeva, p. 253*, 255, 324*, 329*, 333*.
 Vyāsa, p. 243, 244, 272*, 274; 325*, 329, 333; 347*, 351.
 Vyutpatti, = culture, p. 347*, 352.
 Vyoman, an ancient K. p. 192*.

Ś

Śarabhu, p. 281*, 286; 298*, 301, 312*.
 Sankhaśūda, a mythological serpent, p. 169.
 Śaka, = Śālivāhana (-Nṛpa era) p. 247.
 Śakanrpakāla, p. 300*, 305, 315*, 328.
 Śakanrpakāla; confounded with Samvat era? p. 249.
 Śakuni, an ancient king, p. 192*.

Śakti, power of genius, p. 347*, 352.
 Śaktidhara, = God Kārtikeya; used in double sense, p. 283*, 289&n, 299*, 303&n3, 314*.
 Śabarasa, a people on the Tapi, p. 6; wild tribe near Vindhya, p. 11; as progeny of Viśvāmitra, living in South, p. 11.
 Śabdatantrapati, = master of Grammar, p. 284*, 291; also used in a double sense, p. 291.
 Śametha, (Pali) for Samayata, p. 369.
 Śaśabindu, an ancient, K. p. 192*.
 Śandilya, Gotra, p. 243*, 244.
 Śāpaprāsādaksama, its proper trans. as occurring in an Inscription, p. 400.
 Śālini Metre, p. 356.
 Śāsanapaddhati, = charter, p. 347*, 352.
 Śīri, for Śrī, p. 369.
 Śilāhārākhyā Vamsa, p. 169n2*.
 Śiva, p. 306n2; 335*, 436ff.
 Śiva, in his terrific form worshipped in Early Cālukya times, p. 83.
 Śiva, figured on the seal of Deoli plates, p. 293, 306.
 Śiva, his figure on seal of Navasārī copperplates, p. 318.
 Śiva, his temple at Ellora, p. 294; 308; reasons for identifying the temple with the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora, p. 308.
 Śiva, and his eight bodies, p. 345*, 349.
 Śiva, (invoked in Java), p. 359.
 Śiva, his hosts = Lingāyats, p. 131.

Śivadhārī, a grantee, p. 92.
 Śīlasamādhi tathā prajñāmayam
 for Śīlasamādhiprajñāmayam,
 p. 369.
 Śūṇīsyāti and Śrīvanti both
 forms met with in Gāthā writ-
 ings, p. 369.
 Śuddhapaksah, used in double
 sense, p. 281*, 286&n1, 299,
 301&n1; 312*.
 Śūra, an ancient K. p. 192*.
 Śūrarāśi (? Śūraśoni) an ancient,
 K. p. 192*.
 Śeṣa, the mythological serpent,
 p. 53, 344*, 348.
 Śramana, p. 426*; 428.
 Śravanasubhage Gāndharve°, p.
 402.
 Śrī, an honorific, prefixed to names
 of kings, p. 229n1; thus almost
 indispensable, p. 249; 248.
 Śrīkaranādhīpa or karanaprabhu,
 =Chief Secretary, p. 162.
 Śrīkaranādhīpa, =Chief Secre-
 tary, title of Hemādri, p.156.
 Śrīpāda, a teacher, p. 347*, 352.
 Śrī-Sarasvatī, (both together),
 p. 227*, 229.
 Śrutis, (generally) 347*, 351.
 Śreni=a Guild p. 407.
 Ślathānga, used in double sense,
 p. 282, 288&n3, 299*, 303&n2,
 314.
 Śvetātapatratritaya, = Triad of
 white parasols (an emblem of
 Rāstrakūṭa Sovereignty, p.
 282*, 287, 299*, 302, 313*.

S

Samgha=(Buddhist) congrega-
 tion, p. 42.

Samdhāprada for Sāntvapada
 as occurring in an Inscription,
 p. 403.
 Samdhi, used in double sense, p.
 227*, 232&n1.
 Samdhivigrahādhikṛta = coun-
 sellor in peace & war, p. 253†,
 256.
 Sambodhi, =True Knowledge, p.
 426*, 428.
 Samvtsara, use of the word, not
 necessarily =Samvat or Vikra-
 ma year or era, p. 249ff.
 Samskāra, used in double sense,
 p. 227*, 232&n3.
 Sagara, the mythological king;
 p. 26; 228*, 234, 253*, 255*, 272*,
 274; 346, 351.
 Sadandadosadasāparādha, p 285*,
 292.
 Sadaśāparādha, a term of uncer-
 tain meaning, p. 241n1; 228.
 Sapta, Mātr = Seven Mothers, p.
 67; 272*, 273 See also Mātrs.
 Sabhā, its correct meaning, a re-
 gular or formal assembly or a
 Hall, p. 379; & not a crowd of
 persons, p. 379.
 Sabhāprapā, as a compound for
 Sabhāyai or Sabhābhyah prapā,
 wrong, p. 378.
 Sabhā-prapā-karena, p. 378.
 Samāmnāya, =Nighantus, p. 406.
 Samāsa, used in double sense, p.
 227*, 232 & n1.
 Samāhāradvandva compound, p.
 374.
 Sarasī, =a large lake, p. 14.
 Sarasvatī, p. 343, 350*.
 Sarvataḥ, p. 375.

Sahadeva, (Pāndava) his conquests, p. 16.
 Sahasrabhuja Sahasrārjuna, an ancient King, p. 283*, 289.
 Sahasrārjuna, the mythical hero to whom the Cedi Kalacuris trace their descent; his story as given in the Mbh., p. 277.
 Sātyaki, p. 299*, 302, 312*.
 Sātyaki Branch (of Yadu race), p. 85.
 Sātyakivargabhājah, as an epithet of the Rāstrakūtas, p. 276.
 Sātвата, an ancient king, p. 192*.
 Sādhu, used in double sense, p. 232 & n3.
 Sāpeksa (Compounds), when allowed and when not, p. 379, 408.
 Sāmanta, a subordinate prince or chief, p. 249
 Sāmānikā metre, p. 356.
 Sālva, Sālveya, p. 13.
 Simha, a Valabhi honorific suffix, p. 182.
 Siteyu, an ancient king, p. 192*.
 Siddhas, p. 323*, 327*, 331.
 Siddhapabbhatta, son of Vennapabbhatta, a Brahman donee, p. 318, 324*, 333.
 Sugata pūjayitum for Sugatam pūjayitum, p. 369.
 Sugatasāsana, the system of Sugata, p. 425*, 427.
 Sugriva, sending his followers in search of Sītā, p. 7, 16.
 Sunīsyāti, (Pali), p. 369.
 Sunna, probably Prakrit of Skr Sūjña, p. 353*; 355n1.
 Subāhu, an ancient king, p. 193*.
 Suyājña, an ancient king, p. 192*.

Suvarnakāras, = goldsmiths in Śātavāhana times, p. 57.
 Suvarnadāna, mentioned in Hemādri, p. 370f, 372.
 Suvarnadānatīrthakareṇa, as occurring in an Inscription, its proper translation, p. 370f.
 Setu, (Rāmeśvara ?), p. 322*, 326*, 330.
 Setu, a bridge, p. 371.
 Sena, a Valabhi honorific Suffix,, p. 182; a title, p. 386.
 Senāpati, p. 224.
 Soma, used in double sense, p. 344*, 348 & n.
 Somanātha (god), p. 346*, 351.
 Someśvara (god), p. 340.
 Saunāgas, a school of Grammar mentioned by Patañjali, p. 14.
 Saubhāgya, = special use of the word explained, p. 343; 345*, 350.
 Skanda, = Kārtikeya, p. 54.
 Stūpas, p. 363f, 412.
 Sthāna, used in double sense, p. 227*, 232 & n2.
 Sneha, used in double sense, p. 254n2.
 Sphaṭika, p. 415.
 Smaya, = pride or arrogance, p. 401.
 Smaravaśataruñajana, as occurring in an Inscription, p. 404.
 Smrtis, (generally), p. 229, 243*, 244, 347*, 351.
 Smrtis, p. 133; commentaries on them began to be written in the Later Cālukya and Kalacuri periods, p. 133.
 Smrtipranītamārga, p. 226*.
 Svyambhū, p. 321*, 325, 329.

Svayambhū-Śiva-Dhāma, (incorrectly understood), p. 336.	284*, 286, 289, 290, 299, 300*, 301 & n2, 304, 312*, 315*.
Svayambhoja, an ancient king, p. 192*.	Harikula, =family of god Kṛṣṇa, = Rāstrakūta family, p. 283*, 289, 299*, 303, 314*.
Svayamvara, of Candrālekṣā, p. 118f; real? ibid.	Harinīlanāyaka, used in double sense, p. 281*, 286n2, 299, 301 n2, 312*.
Svastika, on Kolhapur coins, p. 306n2, 413.	Hārīta or Hārītī, a legendary hero connected with the origin of the Cālukya family, p. 67; 210, 272*, 273.
Svabhasta, =Sign Manual, p. 253*, 256.	Hita in Dative Tatpuruṣa, p. 378.
Svāmin, as a title or suffix, peculiar to writers on sacrificial rites; the title belongs specifically to the Early Cālukya times, p. 82.	Himālaya, p. 229.
Svāmī, = god Kārtikeya; used in double sense, p. 283*, 289 & n, 299*, 303 & n3, 314*.	Himāśuvamśa, p. 197*.
Svāhita, an ancient K. ? p. 192*.	Hiri for √hrī, p. 369.
Hara (god), p. 321*, 325, 329.	Hirudham, as occurring in an Inscription, p. 383.
Hari (god), p. 191, 281*, 283*,	√Hr with vi, p. 374.
	Hrdika, an ancient king, p. 192*.

INDEX No. III.

INDEX TO NAMES OF ANCIENT INDIAN

AUTHORS AND WORKS.

A

Agnipurāna, p. 337.

Aparārka, commentator on Yājñavalkya Smṛti, p. 133, 407 ; A.'s work called Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra Nibandha ;. Aparārka being a prince of North Konkan Śilāhāra D., his date, p. 133. Compare also the two Aparādityas in Index No V.

Abhilasitaointāmani, p. 4 ; its date, p. 188. See also Mānasollāsa.

Amarasimha, p. 16.

Ā

Ādityapurāna, quoted by Hemādri, p. 371.

Āyurvedarasāyana, a com. on Vāgbhata, attributed to Hemādri, p. 163.

Āśvalāyana, a Mahābhārata existed before him, p. 16.

U

Uttarapurāna of the Jains, = the latter half of Mahāpurāna; refers to Amoghavarṣa I, Rās K. as a devout Jain, p. 94 ; the Purāna refers to Akalavarṣa (= Kṛṣṇa II, Rās. k.) ; p. 96, 295, 308 ; the Purāna consecrated, p. 96 ; its date, p. 188.

Uttararāmacarita, see under Bhavabhūti.

Udayadevapandita, or Niravadyapandita, a Digambara Jain and famous grammarian, pupil of Śrīpūjyapāda, p. 81f ; adviser of Vinayāditya, Early Cā. K., p. 82.

Upanisads, (generally), p. 211.

Al

Aitareya Brāhmana, on the progeny (Āndhras, Pundras &c.,) of Viśvāmitra, p. 11.

K

Kanabhūti, the ghost who communicated Brhatkathā to Guṇādhyā, p. 53f.

Kathāsaritsāgara, scattered historical notices in it, p. 4 ; its reference to the Śālivāhana story, p. 53nl ; a translation of Brhat-Kathā, p. 360 ; on the origin of the Kātantra Grammar, p. 54f ; on Indian Merchants trading with Suvarṇadvīpa, p. 360. See also under Guṇādhyā and Brhatkathā.

Kalhana, see under Rājataranginī.

Kavirahasya, p. 4. See also under Halāyudha.

Kātantra (Grammar), = **Kālāpaka**; why so called, p. 54; its origin and purpose, p. 55f.

Kātyāyana, the object of his **Vārtikas**, p. 13; variant readings of **Kātyāyana**, mentioned by **Patañjali**, p. 14; his date in relation to **Pānini** and **Patañjali**, *ibid*; grammatical forms noticed by **K.** but not mentioned by **Pānini**, p. 14f.

Kādambārī, see under **Bāna**.

Kāmasūtra of **Vātsyāyana**; Historical notices in it, p. 4; his mention of **Kuntala Sātakarni** and his queen, p. 56.

Kālāpaka, see under **Kātantra**.

Kālidāsa, his mention of **Vidiśā** in his **Meghadūta**, p. 17, 409; his date, p. 19f; his **Raghuvamśa** quoted, p. 314; his reference to **Malwa** without naming it so; other places mentioned by him in **Meghadūta**, p. 409.

Kāvya prakāśa, p. 55, 343.

Kāvya darśa, p. 53. See under **Dandin** also.

Kāśikā, (com. on **Pānini**), p. 408.

Kirātārjunīya, p. 371.

Kirtikaumudī of **Somadeva** or **Somesvara**, p. 152f & 152n2; gives account of **Vastupāla** and his masters, *ibid*; account of the invasion of **Gujarath** by **Singhapa**, Later **Yādava** prince, p. 152ff; **K.** quoted, p. 338 & n.

Keśava, father of **Bopadeva**, p. 164.

Ks

Ksemendra, author of **Brhatkathā**, derives his stories from **Paiśāci Brhatkathā**, p. 53.

G

Guṇādhyā, p. 53n1; author of **Brhatkathā**, and minister of **Sātavāhana**, p. 54, 360.

C

Caturvarga-Cintāmani of **Hemādri**; its contents; its different parts; its varied information; p. 163; see also under **Hemādri** and the different **Khaṇḍas**.

Cāṅgadeva, grandson of **Bhāskara-cārya** and son **Lakṣmidhara** head astrologer of **Singhana**, p. 156; founds a college for the study of **Astronomy**; *ibid*,

Cenna Basava, **Purāna**, p. 131.

J

Jagaddhara, (commentator of the **Mālatī-Mādhava**), p. 401.

Jayadhavalā, a philosophical Jain work, p. 94.

Jahlana, his anthology called **Subhāsitāsūktimuktāvalī**, p. 4; **J.**'s parentage; **J.** an adviser of **Kṛṣṇa Yādava K.**, p. 158f. See also **Subhāsitāsūktimuktāvalī**.

Jinasena, preceptor of **Gunabhadra** and writer of **Ādipurāna**, his **Parśvābhyudaya** refers to **Amoghavarṣa I**, **Rās. K.**, p. 94.

Jaina Dīgambara works; many, composed in **Rās. times**; p. 105.

Jn

Jñāneśvara, (Vernacular Pronunciation. Dnyāneśvara); the great Maratha saint, lived in the time of Rāmacandra Latar Yādava prince; p. 164; his com on Bhagavadgītā, p. 164; also called Jñānadeva; son of Nivṛt-tinātha of the Maheśa family, author of Jñāneśvari; p. 164; its date, p. 165.

Jñāneśvari, historical notices in it, p. 4; quoted, p. 164n2.

T

Tamil Chronicle, p. 420f.

Tārānātha, his History of Buddhism; on the origin of the Kātantra grammar, p. 55; names mentioned by Tārānātha in this connection; ibid.

Tīrthakhanda, a part of Hemādri's Caturvarga Cintāmani, p. 163.

Taittirīya-Samlīṭā, on the story of Indra transferring his sin to earth, p. 241n2.

D

Dandin, p. 19; his Daśakumāracarita on the Bhojas, p. 18n; his Kāvyaadarśa, on Brhatkathā and its language, p. 53.

Daśakumāracarita, see under Dandin, above.

Daśarūpaka, see under Dhanika.

Dānakhanda, a part of Caturvarga-Cintāmani of Hemādri, p. 163.

Dīpavaṃso, associates Mahārāstra and Aparāntakas; p. 17n; refers to Moggaliputto sending missionaries, p. 19&n1.

Dh

Dhanika, his Commentary on Daśarūpaka, p. 55.

Dhaneśa, tutor of Bopadeva, p. 164.

Dharmasaṃgraha, Buddhist work, p. 354n1, 355n2.

N

Narmadā Mahātmya, p. 251.

Nāgānanda, attributed to Śrī Harsa, p. 169n1.

Niravadyapandita, see under Udayadevapandita.

Nirukta (of Yāska), on the word Amnāta, p. 406.

P

Patañjali, his intimate acquaintance with S.; notices S. lingual usages; p. 14; P. on Āryāvarta, p. 7, his date in relation to that of Kātyāyana, p. 14f; new verbal forms coming in use in his time, p. 15; P. mentions Mahābhārata characters, p. 16; his com. quoted, p. 374f; his views about two Kṣatriya tribes, p. 408.

Pampa, author of Kanarese Bhārata, p. 110.

Parīśesakhanda, a part of Hemādri's Caturvarga-Cintāmani p. 163.

Pāṇini, his extensive knowledge of Indian Geography, p. 11f; countries in eastern part of N. I. mentioned by him, p. 12; on forming derivatives from words which signify tribes of warriors and also the countries, p. 13; P.'s omissions in this respect supplemented by Kātyāyana, p. 13. P. and Kātyāyana, p. 14; P.'s date, p. 14f; literature unknown to him, p. 35; a Mahābhārata existed before P., p. 16; on Jihvāmūliya and Visarga, p. 248; P.'s mention of Mālavas and Ksudrakas, p. 408, authenticity of words occurring in his Ganas, p. 12n1, 408, countries mentioned by him, as evidence of Āryan expansion, p. 12f; his Bhāsā, p. 15; his technical terms, p. 231n5; P. a native of Śālātura and known as Śālāturiya, p. 232n4; his Bhargādīgana, p. 12n1, his Khandikādīgana, p. 408; the Śikṣā attributed to him—not his work, p. 12n2. (in a general way), p. 54, 66n1, Kārikās, p. 374f; 378; quoted as authority, p. 141n; 380, 403.

Pārāvābhyudaya, see under Jināsena.

Pūjyapāda, p. 81; preceptor of Niravadyapandita (q. v.); his different dates, p. 82.

Pratāparudriya, by Vidyānātha p. 159f; its mention of Ganapati

Kākatīya and Rudra-Rudramā p. 160f.

Prāśnottararatnamālikā; p. 4; claimed for Śaṅkarācārya by Brahmans, for Amoghavarṣa, Rāṣ. King, by Digambara Jains and for Vimala by Śve. Jains; its Chinese version, p. 95, 97.

B

Basavapurāṇa, as source of history, p. 4; its historical nature, p. 129; its account of Vijjana Kalacuri's assassination by Basava, p. 130.

Bāna,—(1) His Kādambarī, its mention of Śabarasa, p. 11n3; K. quoted, p. 337.

—(2) His Harsacarita; its mention of Kālidāsa, p. 20; its mention of Hāla's Saptaśatī, p. 55

Bilhana, his Vikramāṅkadevacarita, as source of history, p. 4; the legendary origin of Čalukyas as given by him, p. 66f; his mentioning Ayodhyā as the original seat of the dynasty, p. 67; his account of Someśvara I, Later Ča. king, p. 113ff; of Someśvara II, 116f, of the war between the last and Vikramāditya II, 116ff; of the war between the last and Jayasīma, 119f; made Vidyapati by Vikramāditya; B.'s travels all over India, p. 121; B. referred to (in a general way), p. 128n4; B. on the rule of Vikramāditya II, p. 121.

Brhatkathā, in Paisāoi language, its origin communicated to **Gunādhyā** by **Kanabhūti**; written in blood, p. 53f; its date, p. 360.

Brhadāranyaka, p. 379.

Bopadeva, a protégé of **Hemādri**, his history, his works, p. 163f.

Brahma Purāna, p. 371.

Brahmānda Purāna, p. 373.

Bh

Bhagavadgītā, its Marathi com. by **Jñānadeva**, p. 164; B. quoted, p. 394. See **Jñāneśvari**

Bhartrhari, his **Vairāgyaśataka** quoted, p. 407.

Bhavabhūti, his **Uttararāma-carita** referred to, p. 8.

Bhavisyottara (Purāna) quoted by **Hemādri**, p. 371.

Bhāgavata Purāna, on **Āndhra-bhṛtya** kings, p. 34, 45f; the latest **Purāna**, p. 43f, 47; corruption of names of kings occurring in B., p. 46; the story in it of **Indra** transferring to earth his sin, p. 241n2. See also under **Purānas** in Index V, where among the four **Purānas** generally referred to, **Bhāgavata** is one.

Bhāmati of **Vācaspatiśiśra**, a com. or **Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya** of **Śaṅkarācārya**, p. 159.

Bhārata (Kanerese), its date, p. 110. See also under **Pampa**.

Bhāskarācārya, (the famous Mathematician), p. 150, 156.

See also under **Siddhānta-Śiromani**.

Bhojacarita, p. 113 & 113n5 value of tradition in it, p. 114. See also under **Rājavallabha**.

Bhojaprabandha, see under **Merutunga**.

M

Matsya (or Mātsya) Purāna, its mention of **Kuntala**, a **Śāta-vāhana K.**, p. 56; on **Daksināpatha**, p. 5f, 9; 34; on **Āndhrabh.** kings, pp 42-50, 63. See also under **Purānas** in Index V where the M. is included in the **Purānas** generally referred to; M the second earliest **Purāna**, p. 43f.

Manu, on **Brahmāvarta** and **Āryāvarta**, p. 7; M. quoted, p. 394.

Mallinātha, p. 371.

Mahāpurāṇa, (Jain), p. 94.

Mahābhārata, story of **Agastya**, p. 8; **Sahadeva's** going to **Daksināpatha**, p. 5f; M. characters mentioned by **Patañjali**, p. 16; "a" M. existed before **Pānini** and **Āśvalāyana**; different from the present, p. 16; the text of the present M., p. 16; relation of geographical names in M. with those in **Rāmāyana**, p. 16f; mention of **Banavāsi** and **Jayanti**, p. 59f; verses from M. as quoted in a **Gujarath grant**, p. 247; quoted, p. 373, 382n.

Mahābhāṣya, see under **Patañjali**.

Mahāvamsa, its mention of **Mahārāṣṭra** and **Aparāntaka**, p. 17n; its reference to **Moggaliputto** sending missionaries, p. 19&n1.

Mahāvastu, referred to, p. 373, 375.

Mānasollāsa, = **Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi**, a work written by **Someśvara III**, a **Later Cā. K.**, p. 123; its contents, p. 123f; a compendious work, p. 124; its date, p. 124.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, on **Dakṣiṇāpatha**, p. 5.

Mālavikāgnimitra, historical nature of its plot, p. 22; (generally), p. 343.

Mitaksarā, see under **Vijñāneśvara**.

Muktāphala of **Bopadeva**, a com. on it attributed to **Hemādri**, p. 163f.

Mugdhabodha of **Bopadeva**, p. 163f.

Meghadūta, see under **Kālidāsa**.

Merutunga, his **Bhojaprabandha**, p. 112n1.

Moksakhanda, a part of **Hemādri's Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi**, p. 163.

Y

Yasastilaka of **Somadeva**, a Jain work, p. 4, 104.

Yājñavalkya, (the **Smṛti** author) a com. on him; p. 133, 210, 407.

R

Raghuvamśa, see under **Kālidāsa**.

Ratnakōśa, a modern work, its mention of five different parts of **Deccan**, p. 6.

Ratnamālikā, see under **Prasnottararatnamālikā**.

Ratnāvali, its mention of the situation of **Kosala**, p. 12.

Ravikīrti, a Jain poet, writer of **Aihole Inscription**, patronised by **Pulakesi II**, p. 81.

Rājataranginī, of **Kaīhapa**, as source of Indian history, p. 1.

Rājaprasastis, critical Sanskrit Text of, shorter & longer Recensions = Introductions to **Hemādri's Vrata-Khanda**, pp. 191-198.

Rājavallabha, his **Bhojacarita**, p. 112n1.

Rājasekhara, the poet, preceptor of **Mahendrapāla** of **Kanauj**, p. 212.

Rāmāyana, the different countries mentioned in it to which **Sugriva** sent his followers in search of **Sītā**, p. 7f; on **Āndhras**, **Pundras** &c., p. 10; the popular belief that **R.** is older than **Mahābhārata**; p. 16; its date uncertain; no

allusion to R. or R. characters in Pāṇini and Patañjali, and in Amarasiṃha, p. 16; relation of R. and Mahābhārata, p. 16; its Bengali Recension; its text; p. 16; its mention of Suvarṇadvīpa = Sumātrā, p. 360.

L

Lakṣmīdhara, son of Bhāskarācārya (famous mathematician) the Head pandit of Jaitrapāla, Yādava K.; L.'s learning, p. 150.

Lalitavistāra, quoted, p. 369ff, 373f.

Lekhapañcāśikā. as source of history, p. 4; its description & date; the specimen in it of a treaty between Singhana Yādava and Lavanaprasāda Vāghela K., p. 153 & 154n.

Lokasena, pupil of Guṇabhadra, p. 96.

V

Vararuci's Prākṛta Prakāśa, its date, p. 19; mentioned in connection with the origin of Kātantra grammar, p. 55

Varāhamihira, p. 19; his date, p. 20; on the Mālavas and Mālavya, p. 409.

Vahni Purāṇa, quoted, p. 371f.

Vāgbhata, a com. on him by Hemādri, p. 163.

Vācaspatimīśra, p. 159.

Vātsyāyana, see under "Kāmasūtra".

Vāyu Purāṇa, its account of Dakṣināpatha, p. 5f; the earliest of the Purāṇas, p. 43f; on Āndhrabhrtya and other kings, p. 34, pp. 43-51, passim; the Vāyu P. gives an account of the Main Dhanakataka branch of the Āndhrabhrtyas, pp. 46ff; p. 50, 63. See also under "Purāṇas" in Index V, where among the Purāṇas, Vāyu is included

Vikramāṅkadevacarita, see under Bilhana.

Vijayapandita, a Jain scholar p. 82.

Vijjalarāyacarita, its version of the history of Vijjana Kalacuri and Lingāyata Revolution, p. 129, 174n1.

Vijñāneśvara, author of Mitākṣarā, as source of history, p. 4; its authoritativeness; V. flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 121; patronised by the last; his eulogy of the king, p. 121; holding office under the king? p. 123; a reading in his text, considered, p. 121n4; emenda-

tions thereof suggested, p. 121 n4; p. 122nn2,3,4; p. 133, 407.

Vidyānātha, see under Pratāpa-rudriya.

Vimala, author of *Prasnottararatnamālikā*? p. 95.

Visnu Purāṇa, p. 34; pp. 43-47 (passim); a later P. 43, 47; names of Āndhrabhrtya and other kings in it, p. 45f. See also under Purāṇas in Index V, the V. P. being included in the Purāṇas considered there.

Virācārya, see under Sārasaṃgraha.

Vedavyāsa, p. 373.

Vedāntakalpataru of Amalānanda, com. on Vācaspatimīśra's *Bhāmātī*, p. 159; written in the reign of Kṛṣṇa, of the later Yādava Dynasty, *ibid*.

Vedānta Sūtra, p. 406.

Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya of Śaṃkarācārya, p. 159.

Vairāgyaśataka, p. 401.

Vratakhanda, a part of *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi* of Hemādri, p. 163; its Introduction, as source of history, p. 4; this introduction or *Rājaprasastis* (q. v.) or Genealogy of the Yādava kings, p. 136; 137&cn, 141-144, 157, 162. See under Hemādri, and *Rājaprasastis*,

S

Śaṃkarācārya, p. 95. 379; his date, p. 111.

Śabdārnavacandrikā, commentary on Pūjyapāda's *Skr. grammar*, p. 173; its date; as source of history, p. 4.

Śātyāyana, quoted by Hemādri, p. 371.

Śārṅgadhara, son of Sodhala (q. v.) and author of *Samgitaratnākara*, p. 156; commentary on it attributed to king Singa of the Āndhra country; *ibid*.

Śālāturiya, = Pāṇini, (q. v.)

Śālāturiyatānta, (= Grammar of Pāṇini), p. 227*.

Śikṣā, (Pāṇiniya), not the work of Pāṇini; p. 12n2. The Śikṣā refers to Prakrit dialects, *ibid*.

Śivasiddhāntas, p. 275, 285*, 292.

Śrīpati, brother of Bhāskarācārya (famous mathematician), p. 156.

S

Samkṣepaśārīraka, by Sarvajñātman, pupil, of Sureśvara; p. 110; its date, 111.

Samgitaratnākara, see under Śārṅgadhara.

Saptasati, a Prakrit Anthology, written by Hāla, p. 4, 55; see under Bāna.

Sarasvatikanthābharana, p. 55.

Sāyana, as continuator of the Hindu law codification movement in the 14th century A. D., p. 133.

Sārasaṅgraha, a Jain mathematical work by Virācārya, p. 94.

Singa of Āndhradeśa & commentator of Saṃgītaratnākara, =probably Singhana Yādava, K., p. 156; also see under Saṃgītaratnākara.

Siddhāntakaumudī, p. 374f.

Siddhānta Śiromani, of Bhāskarācārya, q. v., p. 156.

Subhāṣita-Sūktimuktāvalī of Jahana, quoted, p. 147n2; 148n2; 150n6, 158n1, 159n1; see also under Jahana.

Sureśvara, pupil of Śaṃkarācārya, p. 110.

Setubandha, attributed to Kālīdāsa, p. 19, 20.

(I) Sodhala, son of Bhāskara a minister of Singhana, Later Yād. King., p. 156; coming from Kashmir, p. 156.

(II) Sodhala, commentator on Bhāskarācārya's Karanakutūhala, p. 176f.; his account of the Origin of the Śaka Era, p. 177. The two persons different?

(I) Somadeva, see under Yaśastilaka.

(II) Somadeva, author of Kathāsaritsāgara; derives his stories from Pāliāci Brhatkathā, p. 53; see also under Kathāsaritsāgara.

(III) Somadeva, a Jain Pandit, commentator on Pūyapāda's Sanskrit Grammar; his date, p. 173.

(IV) Somadeva or Someśvara, see under Kīrtikaumudī; p. 113.

Someśvara, author of Kīrtikaumudī, q. v., p. 111.

H

Harilīlā, see under Bopadeva.

Harivamśa Purāṇa, Jain, p. 4, 212; date of its composition, p. 89; reference to a Vatsa king in it, p. 90.

Harsacarita, see under Bāna.

Halāyudha's Kavirahasya; hero of the work a Rāstrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa p. 105f, 106n1; and met a Vijayanagara Kṛṣṇa; ibid.

Hāla, author of Saptasatī, (q. v.)

Hemacandra, on the derivation of Śalivāhana, p. 52; 41n3; his Prakrit Grammar, p. 41n3, 376n.

Hemādri, Minister of Mahadeva

Yādava K., p. 162; his eulogy of his patrons and genealogy of their dynasty in his works, p. 162; his life, works, and titles p. 162f, a patron of learned men, p. 163; authorship of the works attributed to him, doubtful, p. 163; H. on himself p. 198*, 156; Hemādri as continuator

of the Hindu Law codification movement, p. 133; known as Hemadapant; inventor of Modi writing, p. 164; his Vratākhanda as source of history, p. 8, its Rājaprasastis, p. 136n2; H. quoted p. 371ff. See also under. Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi and the different Kāṇḍas of his works.

INDEX No. IV.

INDEX OF NAMES OF MODERN SCHOLARS AND OTHER PERSONS.

A

- Anderson, Rev. P., p. 201, 217, 234, 236.
Apte, Hari Narayan, p. 275.
Aufrecht, (his Oxford Catalogue), p. 56nl.

B

- Bala Gangadhar Shastri (Professor), p. 206f, 209, 212, 261, 264. Same as the two following?
Bala Shastri, p. 73n3. (Same as preceding and following ?)
Ba' a Shastri Jambhekar, p. 205. Same as preceding two ?
Baroda Government, p. 318.
Barth, p. 359.
Barve, Mahadev Wasudeo, p. 415, 418f.
Baumgarten, p. 355, 357.
Bayley, Sir E. Clive, p. 181f.
Beal, p. 359.
Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Pandit, p. 19 n2, 26n2, 29&nl, 31n, 41n1, 49, 59, 65, 76, 136, 140n1, 141f, 171n1, 172nn, 188, 201, 203, 206, 209, 212, 413, 416.
Bhandarkar, D. R., p. 200, 205f, 212f, 401.
Bhandarkar, R.G., (author) earlier opinion about the Valabhi era, p. 222; Early History of the Deccan, his object in writing

it, and the treatment given therein to different periods, p. 4; its Marathi Edition referred to, p. 295, 309; his desire of an invigorated Hinduism, p. 362; studying and deciphering Nasik Inscriptions and the difficulty of the work, p. 366; views on the Language of the Nasik Inscriptions, or the " Gāthā Dialect ", pp. 367ff; Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, referred to, pp. 367ff

- Bhandarkar, Shridhar R., p. 318.
Bhau Daji, Dr., p. 29, 41n1, 125, 200f, 203f, 206, 211, 213, 215-218, 222, 235, 237, 268
Bhilsā Topes, (work) by General Cunningham, p. 411.
Böhtlingk & Roth, their Lexicon, p. 379, 380n, 382n2.
Brett, Lieut, p. 202
Broadley, p. 356, 425.
Buhler, Dr., p. 26n2, 28n, 41n1, 88n1, 121n3, 203, 265&n, 266, 335, 378, 382.
Burgess, Dr., p. 88, 214, 404.
Burn, Dr., p. 216, 218f, 221, 239.
Burnell, p. 360; his South Indian Palaeography, p. 264n1.
Burnouf, M, p. 424.

Burns, Dr., of Kaira, p. 234, 239, 248f.

C

Campbell, p. 59.

Committee of Architectural Antiquities, p. 262.

Cousen, p. 137n1.

Cunningham, General, p. 151n2, 179-182, 385, 399; see also Bhilsa Topes, above.

D

Deane, Captain, p. 200.

Dhruva H. H., p. 318.

Dikshit S. B., p. 388, 395, 399.

Dowson, Prof., p. 77, 216, 241n1, 247 & n, 249, 264, 420, 422n.

Drysdale, T., p. 293

E

Edinburgh University, p. 262.

Elliot, Sir Walter, p. 65, 261, 264, 413, 421.

F

Fergusson, Dr., p. 88, 224, 265, 359.

Fergusson, Jas, p. 257ff, 261.

Fleet, Dr., p. 66, 69n3, 70n2, 88n, 101n1, 102n2, 120n2, 205-208, 210f, 265&n, 268, 296, 310, 335, 384ff; his "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings"; p. 384.

Fleet and Burgess, their Pali, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, 187f.

G

Gangadhar Shastri Datar, p. 137n.

Gerson, da Cunha, Dr, p. 306n2

Goldstücker, p. 14f.

Gonne, C., p. 414.

Government of Bombay, 414, 417.

Graham, Major, p. 151n5 & 7, 424.

Graham, Major, his Report, p. 171n3, 173n1 & n3.

H

Hoernle, Dr., his interpretation of Gāthā Dialect & a Nasik Inscription, an article on it, p. 366-383; (passim).

Hultzsch, Dr., p. 66n; 160n1.

J

Jackson [M. T.], I. C. S., p. 201, 213.

Jacob, General, Le Grand, p. 199f, 204f, 219, 269.

John Jardine, p. 414, 417.

K

Kathawate Abaji V., p. 338n.

Keru, Dr. p. 20; as Keru Lakshman Chatre, Prof., p. 179f, 249f; 387; 392n.

Khasgiwale, his Library of MSS, p. 137n.

Kielhorn, Prof., p. 137n1, 142nn2 & 4, 212, 275, 277f.

Kokahnur, Desai of, p. 340.

L

Lassen, his Indische Altertums-kunde, p. 421&n.

M

MacDonald, Dr., of Nagpur Jail, p. 293.

Mackenzie Collection, p. 420.

Madras Government p. 423; its laudable zeal in Antiquarian matters, p. 424.

Mandlik, V. N., p. 201, 213.

Manekji Aderji, p. 246.

Morbi Darbar, p. 243.

N

Natu, D. R., p. 340.

Newton, Justice, p. 215n4, 216,
220, 225n1.

O

Oldenberg, Prof, p. 38n, 39n4; 398.

P

Pai, Anant Prabhu, owner of a
village, p. 209.

Pathak, Prof. K. B., p. 209.

Peterson, Dr. p. 101, 398&n; 405.

Prinsep, James, a pioneer in deci-
phering Inscriptions p. 3; 217ff,
424; his Tables p. 246.

R

Raffles Sir Stamford, p. 357f;
his History of Java, p. 357.

Rajendralal Mitra, Babu, p. 425;
his Notices of Sanskrit MSS.
p. 89n3.

Reinand, M. p. 391.

Rice, p. 298*, 310.

S

Schneider, Col. F., p. 414f.

Senart, M. p. 17n, 200.

Sewell, Robert, his Chronological
Tables, p. 186: his Lists of
Antiquities, p. 279n4.

Stevenson, Dr. p. 202; 216; 381.

T

Talyor, Dr., p. 169n2, 188, 209.

Telang, K. T., p. 59, 204, 271.

Thomas, p. 17, 48, 215, 413.

Thomas, (A), p. 421n.

Thomas, E., p. 413.

Thomas, his Edition of Prinsep's
Essays, p. 235, 251, 412.

Tod, Col., p. 178, 223.

V

Venkayya, p. 279.

Ventura, General, p. 412.

W

Wathen, p. 65, 102n2, 160, 171.
202, 217-219, 221, 234, 259n1,
260.

Watson, Major J. W., p. 235, 243.

Weber, p. 12&n1.

Wenger, Rev. Dr. J., p. 426n.

West, p. 31, 209, 215, 217, 364,
382, 383.

West, A. A., p. 202.

West, E. W., p. 202.

Westergaard, p. 106, 200, 219.

Willock, Lieut. A., p. 363n.

INDEX No. V.

(HISTORICAL AND SUBJECT INDEX).

[For Abbreviations &c. used in this Index, see at the end of the Index.]

A

Abhimanyu, of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, p. 206.

Abhiras, their coming into power, p. 63; mentioned in Purāṇas, p. 63f.; duration of their rule according to Vāyu P., p. 64; destroyed by Siṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 152; Abhira=Gauḷi rule, p. 64; their Inscription at Nasik, p. 218.

Āca or **Ācaga**, a dependent prince of Vikramāditya II, Later Cālukya K., p. 120.

Accusative, used for locative, a rule of the Gāthā dialect? p. 373 f.

Acyuta Nāyaka, a Brahman Chief under Rāmacandra of Later Yādava dynasty, p. 162.

Ādi Śaka, = original Śaka and founder of Śaka era, the traditional first Indian to colonise Java, p. 360f.

Ādityavarma, Early Cālukya King, p. 74, 111, 205, 263.

Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra Śunga, p. 22.

(I) **Āhavamalla**, a Kalacuri prince, p. 132.

(II) **Āhavamalla**, a title of Someśvara, I, Later Cālukya king.—See under Someśvara I.

Ahmed I of Gujarath, p. 138.

Airamada, a Yādava king, p. 194.

(I) **Akēlavarṣa**, one of the other names of Kṛṣṇa I, Rāṣ. K., p. 87. See under Kṛṣṇa I also.

(II) **Akēlavarṣa**, another name of Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣ. K., p. 95, 101n1, 324, 328, 332.—See also under Kṛṣṇa II.

(III) **Akēlavarṣa**, one of the other names of Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 104, 310f.—See also under Kṛṣṇa III.

Akbar, his Palitana Inscription recording benefaction to Jains, p. 213.

Alberuni, his date; his statement about the Gupta Era, pp. 176-179, p. 388, pp. 397ff; A. on the initial date of the Gupta Era, p. 39n. A.'s statement that the G. E. is the epoch of Guptas' extermination is not true, p. 176f. A.'s method of turning a Śaka into a Gupta date, p. 179, p. 387, 390f, 397; Alberuni's other statements justified, p. 181f, 185.

Alexander the Great, his invasion, p. 2, 21, 48, 408.

Alla-ud-dīn Khiljī, Viceroy of Karra; his invasion of Mahārāṣṭra, p. 165; battle between him and Rāmacandra, Later Yādava king; ibid., negotiations between them, p. 165ff 208.

Almanacs, p. 385.

Alūpa race, ruling over Modern Malbar p. 70, 78; submit to Vikramāditya II, Later Cālukya king, p. 117.

Āmaṣa, son and successor of Mahādeva, Later Yādava Prince, p. 161.

Amara, An Early Cāl. prince, p. 263.

Amaragūṅgeya, An Early Yādava prince; p. 143, 194.

Amaramallugi, an Early Yādava prince, p. 143, 194.

(I) **Amoghavarṣa**, a Rāṣ. K., his other names, p. 93, 95, 106, 276, 295, 319; his having 'burnt' the Cālukyas, of Veṅgi, p. 93; p. 101, p. 276f., p. 319; founder of Mānyakheta, p. 93, his date, p. 93f; devotee of Jināsena; a

- Jain himself, and a great patron of Jains, p. 95; 105, 295, 308, 294, 307.
- (II) Amoghavarṣa II, a Rās. K. p. 99, 101 & n.4; son of Indrarāja Rās. k. p. 282*; 288, 296, 309; his early death, *ibid*, p. 299*, 303, 313, p. 294, 307.
- (III) Amoghavarṣa III, a Rāj. K. his other name Baddiga (Genealogical tree, p. 108, No. 16), which also see, successor of Govinda IV, p. 101; son of Jagattunga Rās, entreated to take up kingship, p. 103; his reign and character, p. 103f, p. 95, 277, 283, 289, circumstances under which he ascended the throne, 282*, 289, 296, 310, his virtues, p. 283*, 284*, 2c9, p. 291, 299*, 300, 303, 304, 314, 315 *
- (IV) Amoghavarṣa IV, Rās. K. another name of Kakkala or Karka II, (Genealogical tree, p. 108, No. 19) which also see
- Anantadeva, descendant of Bhāskaraśārya, the famous Mathematician, astrologer to Singhaṇa Yādava K., builds a Bhavānī temple. p. 156f.
- Ancient ruins in India, (now generally) found in the form of mounds or hillocks, p. 412.
- Āndhra(s), progeny of Viśvāmitra, p. 11, Modern Telugu people, *ibid*, living near the mouth of the Godāvari, *ibid*; subdued by Sahadeva Pāṇḍava, p. 16, mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts, p. 18.
- Āndhra(s), placing a woman on the throne and calling her king, p. 159, 197*.
- Āndhra King, defeated by Kṛṣṇa II, Rāj. K., p. 96, 299*, 302, 295, 308, defeated by Someśvara III, Later Ch. K., p. 123.
- Āndhrabhṛtya(s) of Purāṇas, - Śātavāhana Kings of Inscriptions and coins, pp. 33ff, p. 203 Chronology of Ā.— pp 36ff, date of their coming to power, p. 41. Number of Ā. kings according to Purāṇas, p. 44; discrepancy of years, numbers &c., p. 44f; three branches of Āndhrabhṛtyas, p. 46, their main branch, p. 47f, date of foundation, *ibid*, total duration of their rule, p. 48, latest Ā. date, p. 49. "Another" Ā. dynasty referred to in the Purāṇas, p. 50; their rule in Deccan, p. 51, interruption to it caused by foreign rule, p. 51. Ā. period a prosperous one, p. 52, literature flourishing under Ā. p. 56; Ā. Inscriptions are in Pali, p. 64.
- and Satraps, relations between p. 366.
- coins of Tailaṅga different from Western or Kolhapur Ā. coins, p. 413f.
- See also under Śālivāhanas, and Śātavāhanas.
- Āṅga King, submissive to Kṛṣṇa II, Rāj. K., p. 282*, 287f, 313.
- Āṅgaṇadeva, a Kalacuri Prince, p. 93, 278.
- Anglo-Saxon (race), p. 362.
- Āṅka, Feudatory Prince of Trāṇlokya-malla, Later Cālukya K., p. 206f.
- Anna, a king, p. 148 & 148n2*.
- Anṇiga, a Pallava K. defeated by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāj. K., p. 288*, 290, as Anṇiga, p. 300*, 304, 814*.
- Anṇiga, see Anṇiga.
- Antiochus, territories ruled over by —, receiving Aśoka's teachings, p. 21.
- Antala, King of Śrīvardhana defeated by Bhīllama I of Later Yādava dynasty, p. 148, 194*.
- (I) Aparāḍitya, North Konkan Śilāhāra Prince, p. 209.
- (II) Aparāḍitya, another North Konkan Śilāhāra Prince (different from (I) above), probably = Aparārka, author of com on Yājñavalkya-smṛti, p. 209f.

B

Balharas, mentioned by Arabic Travel-
lers = Vallabhas = Kāstrakūṭas, p.106.

Ballaba Era. see **Halaba Era** above.

Ballava or **Balabhi** = **Vallabha** or **Valabhi**; not the proper name of any king, p. 260.

(I) **Ballaḷa**, a Hoysala prince, p. 120.

(II) **Ballaḷa**, a Hoysala K. defeated by Śiṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 150 f. p. 195°.

(III) **Ballaḷa**, A Kolhapur Śiṅghāra prince, p. 171.

Bandhuvarman, mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription, p. 401.

Bappuka, a prince defeated by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ king, p. 104. See also **Vappuka**.

Bārapa, a general, p. 111.

Berhaspatya cycle, (a Note on) pp. 186-190.

Basava, his history, p. 129; son of a Prahman; original place of residence; made minister by Vijjaṇa Kalacuri; spends king's money on propagating new religion; p. 129, leader of Lingāyata Revolution, ib d; his flight from Vijjaṇa's capital, p. 130; defeats Vijjaṇa; reconciliation with V.; assassinates Vijjaṇa, p. 130f.

—as **Vṛṣabha** (Śiva's bull, **Nandin**) p. 131.

—and cenna **Basava** together propound a new religion of Śiva, p. 129.

Bā (vā)valadevī, sister of **Sāvaladevī**, the Kalacuri queen p. 343, 350, 346; original misprint for **Sāvaladevī** on p. 132?

Bellala Kings, p. 422n.

Benefactions in the Deccan, made by merchants belonging to remote places, p. 62.

Bhairava, brother of **Sāvaladevī**, the Kalacuri queen, p. 343, 346,* 350.

Bhaṭṭārka or **Bhaṭṭārka**, at first a general of the Later Guptas in Kothīawad; afterwards makes himself master of that province, p. 201;

found the **Valabhi Dynasty**, p. 201; 224, 226*, 232, 234, 250, 257f; assumes the title of king; a **Senapati**, p. 252.

Bhaṭṭādityaśākh, an executive officer under the **Valabhis**, p. 243.

Bhaṭṭārka, See **Bhaṭṭārka** above.

Bhāṣya, A Śātavāhana Prince mentioned in Nanaghat Inscriptions, p. 23.

Bhillama, son of **Karṣa**, p. 144n2.

Bhillama I, an Early Yādava Prince, who raised the dynasty to importance, p. 136, 138 & n4, 193°, 197°.

Bhillama II, an Early Yādava Prince, p. 139; assists **Taḷapa I**, Later CA. K., in the wars with **Muṇja**, p. 141, 193°; issued the **Sangamner grant**, p. 140.

Bhillama III, an Early Yādava Prince p. 142, 193°, issued the **Kalas-Budruk grant**, p. 142.

Bhillama IV, an Early Yādava Prince, p. 142, 193°.

Bhillama V, an Early Yādava Prince, p. 144, usurps the Yādava throne, ibid.; makes himself master of **Chlukya dominions**, p. 144, 147f; founder of the **Later Yādava Dynasty**, or the last of the **Earlier Yādava Dynasty**, p. 144 (Genealogy); obtains sovereignty of **Kalyāṇa**, p. 148, 194°; conflict between him and **Hoysala Vira Ballaḷa**, p. 149; 126, 145, 148f, 162.

Bhīma(deva) I, King of **Gujarath**, p. 114.

Bhīma II, of the **Anahilapattana Dynasty**, p. 153n3, 154; 202 (of the **Gujarath Chlukya Dynasty**).

Bhoja, a **Kanauj Prince**, p. 212.

Bhoja of **Malwa** or **Dhārā**, p. 113f; his date, p. 133, referred to as **Dhārēśvara** by **Vijñāneśvara**, ibid.

Bhoja I, a **Kolhapur Śiṅghāra Prince**, p. 171, 175.

Bhoja II, a Kolhapur Śiṅhara Prince, p. 173 & n2; his dates; his charities to Hindus and Jains, p. 173; 131, 171n, 174f, 188; 209 (King of Panhālā); defeated and thrown into prison by Śiṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 15f, 195*.

Bhojadeva, a King defeated by Mahādeva, Yādava K. p. 196 & n*.

Bhojas as a people, having regular kingdom in Mahārāṣṭra at Aśoka's time, p. 18, 64; mentioned in Aśoka's Inscriptions, p. 18, ruling over Vaidarbha, *ibid.*, p. 21f.

Bhūlokaṃalla, one of the other names of Someśvara III, Later Cālukya K. See under Someśvara III.

Bhūtārya, also called Būtuga or Butayya, of the Gāṅga kingdom, p. 279; placed on the throne of Rācchyā-malla by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 283*, 290, 300,* 303, 314.* See also under Būtuga.

Bhuvanaikamalla, another name of Someśvara II, Later Cā. K., p. 116, 207. See under Someśvara II.

Blea or **Bloṇa**, a Viceroy of Singhaṇa Yādava, p. 158; son of Cikka and brother of Malla; p. 155; defeats Rāṭṭas, *ibid.*

Bijala, (= Viṣṇaṇa Kalacuri) as door-keeper of Cenna-Basava, p. 131.

Bijaya, founder of Kalacuri dynasty, p. 207. See also under Viṣṇaṇa.

Billaṇa, a King of Mangalvedhe, defeated by Bhīllama V, 194*.

Boar standard, p. 273.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, its Museum, p. 405.

Bomma, see under Brahma.

Bommaya, a Lingayat, of Basava's time, p. 130.

Brahma or **Bomma**, a general of Someśvara IV, Later Cā. K., p. 147; his feudatory; and helps him in regaining

power; p. 126; destroys Kalacuria, *ibid.*, defeated by Southern Yādavas' *ibid.*

Brahmanic Sacrificial rites, systematised under Early Cālukyas, p. 83f, p. 133.

—gcds invoked in all the Cambodia Inscriptions, p. 359.

Brahmanism, flourishing with Buddhism in Śātavāhana times, and patronised by kings and princess, p. 58.

—its revival vigorously carried on in S. India, p. 83.

—its Puranic side developed under Early Cālukyas p. 83.

—re-asserting itself in 4th century A. D., p. 361. See also Hinduism.

Brahmans, flourishing in Java, p. 359f; formerly setting at naught the prohibition against sea-voyages, p. 362.

Bṛhadratha Maurya, murdered by Pusyamitra Śūṅga, p. 33.

(I) **Buddha**, son of Śāthkaragaṇa, a Kalacuri prince, p. 68.

(II) **Buddha**, (Gautama B. the founder of Buddhism) his law not much known in Java, p. 359, 363.

—his remains, taken out and distributed in Aśoka's times; date of his Nirvāṇa, p. 416.

Buddhism, introduced into China, p. 2.

—flourishing in Śātavāhana times and patronised, p. 57f.

—its prevalence and condition in Early Cālukya times, p. 82.

—its last traces in Mahārāṣṭra, p. 132; in India, p. 361.

—when introduced in Java, p. 360.

—flourishing in Valabhi times, p. 226.

Buddhists, visiting China, p. 2.

Buddhists, Northern or Nepalese, their writings, pp. 368ff.

Buddhist Chain of causes and effect, p. 355 n 2.

Buddhist Prayer wheels, p. 412.
 Buddhist Stūpas, p. 411.
 Buddhist Temples and monasteries in Java, p. 360.
 Buddhist Vihāras, p. 226.
 Buddhist remains found in Brahmā-puri Hill, pp. 411 ff.
 Buddhistic element, wanting in Hindu emigrants to Java, p. 359.
 Buddhistic remains of Bihar, p. 423.
 Buddhavarmarāja, a Gujarath Cālukya prince, p. 77 f.
 Buddhavarṣa a Gujarath Cālukya prince, p. 205.
 Budha Gupta, his Eran Pillar Inscription; the date in it, p. 178 f.
 Bukkarāja, the founder of Vijayanagara dynasty, p. 211.
 Butuga or Butayya, = Skr. Bhūtārya, placed on the Gāṅga throne by Kṛṣṇa III, Rās. K., p. 296, 310. See also under Bhūtārya.

C

Cakirāja, of the Gāṅga family, p. 110.
 Cakrapālita, Governor of a town. p. 259, same as Cakrapāṇi below.
 Cakrapāṇi, son of Prandata = Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta of the Junagad Inscription, Viceroy of Gujarath, p. 259.
 Calukya, Calukya, = Cālukya, p. 66.
 Calukya, originally a vernacular name afterwards Sanskritised, p. 66n, 322*, 326*, 331.
 Calukya and Cālukya, distinction between—unnecessary, p. 66n.
 Cālukyas, Date of their defeat by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 81.
 —not favouring Buddhism, p. 82.
 —eclipsing Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 85.
 —their connection with Cedi and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties, p. 204.
 —destroyed by Amoghavarṣa Rāṣ., p. 319.

Cālukyas (in a general way), p. 18, 20 152, 272*, 322, 326*, 330.
 Cālukya dynasty founded in the beginning of the 6th century, p. 65.
 —family, its legendary origin, p. 66f.
 —power, established over a wide domain under Pulakeśi II, p. 73.
 —power, established over Gujarath, p. 74.
 Cālukyas moving to the South from Ayodhyā, p. 66.
 Cālukyas, their gods, p. 67.
 Cālukya History—its darkest period, p. 109.
 Cālukya Copper-plate Grant, Transcript, and Trans. cf—with remarks on Genealogy and Chronology of E. C. Ks., p. 261-74.
 Cālukya plates (generally), p. 215, 189, 239, 241.
 Cālukya chronology, p. 271f.
 Cālukya Inscriptions (generally), p. 189.
 Cālukya grants are in prose, p. 105.
 Cālukya Plates of Telang, p. 270.
 Cālukya Plates, p. 239, 241.
 Cālukya Dynasty, its Vāṅghī branch, p. 152.
 Cālukya Konkana Inscriptions, p. 207.
 Cālukya family of Veṅgi, p. 101, 319.
 Cālukya family, Genealogy between Vijayāditya E. C. K. and Tailapa I. L. C. K., p. 134.
 Cālukya family at Sangameshvara near Ratnāgiri, p. 127.
 Cālukya, Genealogy of the —, kings of Anahilapaṭṭaṇa, p. 153n 3.
 Cālukyas, Materials for their History, p. 66.
 Cālukya army = Karnataka army, p. 86n1.
 Cālukyas of Konkana, p. 211.
 —of Kalyāṇa, p. 211, 173.
 Cālukyas. See also "Early" Cālukyas and "Later" Cālukyas.
 Candaladevi, see under Candralakhā.
 Caṇḍa Śrī Śātakarṇi, to be identified with Caṇḍapārṇa Śātakarṇi? p. 34.
 (I) Candraditya, eldest son of Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 73f.

(II) Candrāditya, a Kolhapur Śīlāhāra prince, p. 171.

(I) Candragupta, Maurya, p. 21, 33. Date of his founding the Maurya dynasty at Pāṭalīputra, p. 36. His date the sheet anchor of Indian chronology, p. 43; constructs the dam of the Sudarśana Lake, p. 201.

(II) Candragupta II, of the Gupta dynasty, overthrower of the Satraps, p. 182; his latest date, *ibid*, p. 184.

Candralekṣā, also called Candaladevī, a Śīlāhāra princess, married to Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., her Svayamvara, p. 118f.

Candrarāja, a Kolhapur Śīlāhāra Ruler, p. 171.

Candraśrī Śātakarṇi, p. 49, his coins found in Tailāngaṇa, *ibid*; dates of his reign in Tailāngaṇa, p. 50.

Caṣṭana, p. 36, pp. 39ff, p. 53, —belongs to a family of Satraps different from Nahapāna's; ruled at Ujjayinī, p. 40, not a Viceroy of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, p. 39n. 1. = Tiastenes, p. 183, his date, p. 183, 185 The founder of Keatrapas, a foreign name, p. 200, 222. His descendants adopt Hindu names and manners, p. 200, 222. No connection between him and Nahapāna, p. 36f. See also under Tiastenes.

Caturapana or Catuṣparṇa Śātakarṇi, p. 31 & n, p. 42, successor of Yaṣṭaśrī Śātakarṇi, dates of his reign, p. 50. To be identified with Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi? p. 34, his name does not occur in Purāṇas, p. 34, 50. See also under Vāsiṣṭhīputra C. and under Śakarāja.

Caṇḍa, Son of Bicaṇa, Siṅghaṇa's Viceroy in the Deccan, p. 158.

Cave Architecture, for worship of Purāṇic deities began to be employed in Early Cā. times, p. 83.

Cāvoṭaka, = Cāpotkaṭa Kings of Anahilapattana, p. 77 & n. 3.

Cedi, same as Haihayas, p. 204; same as Kalacuris, p. 204, 341. See also Haihayas and Kalacuris.

Cedi Dynasty, its Western branch ruling at Tripura, p. 151, and Eastern branch ruling over Chattisgarh, *ibid*.

Cedi Era, p. 204, 213.

Cedi Princes, doubtful nature of the sequence of, p. 278.

Cedi-Kalacuri princes, called by the name of Sahasrārjuna, p. 277f. See also under Haihayas and Kalacuris.

Cenna-Basava, son of Nāgalāmbikā, p. 129, Leader of the Lingayats and Lingayat Revolution, founder of the Sect, p. 131. C-B as Śiva, *ibid*. See also Basava.

Cera, = Gāṅga? p. 104.

Cera King, an ally of Vinayāditya, Early Cā. K., p. 78.

—submissive to Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 272*, 273

Cera Kings, Genealogy of—as given in Merkārā Copper-plate, p. 420f.

—their dates, p. 421f, their dates in Tamil chronicle are in Śaka era, p. 420.

—their traditional chronology supported by Lassen, 421 n.

Cera Kingdom, its existence at the commencement of the Xian era, p. 422n.

Ceras, submissive to Kṛṣṇa IV, Rāṣ. K., p. 104.

—defeated by Jayasimha, Later Cā. K., p. 113.

Cera Chronology, p. 421 & n.

Ceranma, sanskritised form of Tamil Śeramāṇ = the Cera King, made tributary by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 278, 284*, 291 & n.

Chalke families (of Marathas), connected with Cālukyas? p. 127.

Charitable guilds, p. 57.

Charities, notions about them same in Nahapāna's time as now, p. 58.

Charters, their compilers &c. p. 368.

Chinese pilgrims to India, p. 2.
 —sources of Indian History, p. 2.
 Chosroes II, King of Persia; embassies between him and Pulakēśi II, Early C.E. K., p. 73.
 Christian Era, its present day use by Indians, p. 223.
 Chronicles, Early, their paucity, p. 1.
 Cities (new) in India, built in some cases on the ruin of old cities, p. 412.
 Citrakap̥ṭha, the favourite horse of Vikramāditya I, Early C.E. K., p. 75.
 Coins, old, as source of Indian History, p. 3.
 Colas (a Southern people) mentioned by Patañjali, p. 13; not known to Pāṇini, p. 14, 1; mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts, p. 18, p. 21f.; become ally of Pulakēśi I, Early C.E. K., p. 71, p. 272,* 273; rebel against Early C.E. K., p. 75, defeated by C.E. K., p. 78, p. 80, p. 104; defeated by Jayasīṃha Later C.E. K., p. 113, defeated by Someśvara I, Later C.E. K., p. 113, by Vikramāditya II, p. 115 f. Colas as Draviḍas, p. 117, 123. A Revolution in Cola country, p. 117, submissive to Kṛṣṇa, Later Yādava K., p. 157; uprooted by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K. and their provinces given to his dependents, p. 278, 284*, 291; defeated by Vijaya Kalacuri, p. 341, 344,* 348.
 Colonisation (Indian) of Java, its traditional account, pp. 360 ff.
 Communication, means of—under Śāta-vāhanas, p. 62.
 —between Mahārāṣṭra, and South and North India frequent, in Śāta-vāhana times, p. 63.
 Conjoint consonants, generally preserved as in Sanskrit and not assimilated in Pali, p. 369.
 Copperplate Grants (generally), their nature and contents, p. 2, as sources of Indian History, p. 199.
 Corruptions in language—see Phonetic changes.

Countries mentioned in Aśoka Inscriptions; those known before Patañjali, p. 18.

Cūḍasama, a family of princes, ruling in Girnar, p. 202.

Current years, p. 396. See also under Śaka Era and Dates.

Cyclic years, p. 189, 399.

D

Dada, a Gujarath K. p. 247 f, 252,* 254.
 Dādā, Commander of Mallugī, an Early Yādava K., defeated Vijaya Kalacuri, p. 147f.

Dadda II, a Gujarath K. p. 247 f; his other name, p. 247; his name misread p. 248f; 252,* 254.

Dakkhāmītrā, wife of Usavadāta, her gifts, p. 24.

Dākeśītyas, mentioned in Mahābhārata, p. 409.

Dancing, as forming part of Kṣatriya ladies' education, p. 313.

Dantidurga, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king; becomes paramount lord of South, p. 86, defeats Kīrtivaraman II, last of the Early C.E. kings, p. 81; p. 276, date of the same, p. 339, his other conquests, p. 86; reason of his name being omitted in Baroda grant, *ibid*, p. 281*, 286f, 299*, 302, 313, 318, 322*, 326,* 330, supreme lord of Mahārāṣṭra, p. 294, 307.

Dantiga, ruler of Kāñcī, p. 92, 296f; defeated by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K. 296f; p. 104, p. 283*, p. 289, 299*, 303, 314,* 310; a name borne by some Pallava kings, p. 310.

(I) Dantivarman, an Early Rāṣ. K., mentioned in Ellora Caves inscription, p. 85.

(II) Dantivarman, a Lāṭa Rāṣ. K., p. 320

Darhasena, a Traikūṭaka K., 65.

Daśaratha, grandson of Aśoka (Maurya), p. 200.

Daśavarman, son of Tailapa I, Later C.E. K. p. 112.

Dasyas, p. 11.

Deccan, Sources for its history, p. 1 ff.
= Dakkhan; etymology of the word p. 5; becomes part of Mahomedan Empire, p. 167. For Deccan see under (I) Mahārāṣṭra (II) Dakṣiṇ and (III) Dakṣiṇāpatha also.

—Its settlement by Āryans, see under Āryans.

Derabhaṭa, a Valabhī K., p. 237.

Deśastha family names, p. 158.

Devanāgarī characters, their variety used in Gujarath in Early centuries of Xian era, p. 246.

Devapāla, a King mentioned in Ghosrāwan Buddhistic Inscription, p. 426*, 427.

Devaśakti, a Sendraka Chief, p. 74.

Dhāḍiyama, an Early Yādava K., p. 193, perhaps a collateral (with variants as 2 names immediately below).

Dhāḍiyasa, p. 139 (perhaps a collateral), 193* (as variant for Dhāḍiyama).

Dhāḍiyappa, p. 193*, (as variant for Dhāḍiyama).

Dhāḍiyappa or Dhāḍiyasa, an Early Yādava K., p. 138 & n, 193*.

Dhārā, K. of —, defeated by Śiṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 195*.

Dharapaṭṭa, a Valabhī prince, p. 224.

Dharasena I, a Valabhī prince, p. 201, 217, 227, 229.

Dharasena II, a Valabhī King, p. 182, 201, 217, 221-225, 227, 231, 235f, 240; the figured date in his copperplate, p. 217; his earlier date, p. 224; his revised date, p. 260.

Dharasena III, a Valabhī K., p. 232, 236.

Dharasena IV, a Valabhī K., p. 217, 220f, 228, 236f, 239f. 258 (?); his revised date, p. 260.

Dharasena, a Traikūṭaka prince, p. 204; his Inscription; ibid. [Same as Dharasena].

Dhārāvarṣa, another name of Dhruva, Rās. K., q. v.

Dhārāśraya, another name of Jaya-

śiṅha of Gujarath CE. D., p. 75.

Dharmaguta (= Dharmagupta), name of a donor occurring in the Kolhapur—Brahmapuri Remains, p. 416*.

Dhorappa, a Prince of the Early Yādava period, p. 139.

(I) Dhruva, a Rās. K., p. 89f; his other names, p. 89, 294, 307; takes power from the hands of his brother Govin^da II, p. 89, his exploits, p. 89f; his three White Umbrellas, p. 90; takes away the Royal Umbrella of a Northern King, p. 322,* 326,* 329. P. 212, 294, 308, 319

(II) Dhruva, a Lāṭa Rās. K., p. 320 f.

Dhruvhaṭa, = Tu-lu-va-po-tou = Dhruvabhaṭa below, p. 181f.

Dhruvabhaṭa (of Malwa), son-in-law to the son of Harṣavardhana, p. 286; to be identified with Dhruvasena (II) Valabhī K., p. 387. P. 181 = Dhruvapaṭu.

Dhruvapaṭṭa, a Valabhī K., p. 259.

Dhruvapaṭu = Dhruvabhaṭa, see above.

Dhruvasena I, a Valabhī K., also called Bālāditya, son of Kharagraha, p. 182; = Dhruvabhaṭa mentioned by Hwan-Tsang, ibid; his grants, ibid, p. 227; 231f, 235f, 250.

Dhruvasena II, a Valabhī K., p. 202.

Dhruvasena III, a Valabhī K., p. 237.

(I) Dhruvasena, an executive officer of the Valabhīs, p. 228,* 234, 241.

(II) Dhruvasena, his son king of Kānyakubja, p. 387.

Dhruvasiṃha = Dhruvabhaṭa mentioned by Hwan Tsang, misprint for Dhruvasena I, p. 386.

Digambara Jaina Works, p. 4.

Digambara Jainism, flourishing in Rās. times, p. 105.

Dindikara, a Cera king, p. 420.

Divirapati Skandabhaṭa, a Valabhī Minister, p. 240 f.

Draviḍas, subdued by Sahadeva Pāṇḍava, p. 16, defeated by Someśvara I, Later CE. K., p. 114, = Coḷas, submit to Vikramāditya II, Later CE. K.,

p. 117, as Draviḷas, defeated by Someśvara III, Later Cē. K., p. 123.
 Dr̥ḍhaprahāra or 'prahārin, an Early Yādava King, Lord of Deccan, p. 137, 145, 193*.
 Droṇasīmha, a Valabhi King, p. 224, 250n, 257, 259, 201
 Dugdhamalla, of the Later Cē. Dynasty, p. 110.

E

Early Cālukyas or E. C. Dynasty or E. C Branch, their history, pp 66ff, p. 261f, their different branches p. 81, their extinction in Mahārāṣṭra, *ibid*, dispossessed of power by Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 81, tolerant towards all religions, p. 83, their genealogy, p. 84, 262 (partly), Jainism flourishing in their period, p. 105, their different branches, p. 109, their Gujarath Branch and its capital, p. 205, their Inscriptions, p. 204f, their chronology, p. 205, its doubtful points, p. 261, 271f, their monuments, p. 208, their legendary origin, p. 210

Earlier Cālukyas and Later Cālukyas, two different families, p. 112 n7, no continuity of tradition between them, p. 109.

Eastern Cālukyas = C of Vengi, p. 91, eclipsing Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 319.

Eastern Cālukyas and (main) Cālukya line, difference in their seal legends, p. 264, separation of the Eastern and Western branches, p. 265. See also under "Cālukya" and "Cālukyas"

Early Yādavas, = Yādavas of Seunadēsa, p. 146. See under Yādavas.

Edward I, (King of England), p. 221.

Epigraphia Indica, its establishment, p. 199.

Eras. For the different eras, see under the respective names, Gupta E., Valabhi E., Kaliyuga E., Mahābhārata E., Yudhisthira E., Śaka E., Vikrama E

Eras, their six traditional founders,

p. 267; impossibility of two different Eras being used at the same place, p. 395f.

F

Fah-hian, Chinese Pilgrim; his mention of Ta-Thsin = Dakṣiṇa, p. 5; his notices of Hindu civilisation in Java, p. 359f, his account of Yavadvīpa = Java, p. 359 f.

Farukī Kings, p. 138.

Fattasingh Gaikwad, his Inscription, p. 213.

Foreigners, their inroads into Mahārāṣṭra, p. 38

Foreign invaders, become Hinduised, p. 57; adopt Hindu or Buddhist religion, p. 361. See under their respective names also.

Foreign Trade in Śātavāhana times, p. 58; the same carried inland, *ibid*.

G

Ga and Śa, in cave Inscriptions, very nearly similar, p. 268.

Gaṇapati, a Southern Prince, (nephew of Rudra, Lord of Tailangas) released from prison by Jaitrapāla Yādava, p. 149f, of the Kakatiya dynasty, p. 150, 160, leaves his throne to a daughter, p. 160

Gaṇasthiti of the Mālavas, p. 406 ff, uncertainty about the event and its date, p. 398.

Gaṇḍarāditya, a Kolhapur Śilāhāra Prince, his grant, p. 171 n 1; 172; his date, p. 172, extent of his rule, his religious charities to Brahmans and Jains, *ibid*, the most famous of the Kolhapur Śilāhāra Princes, p. 172, 174, 188, 209

Ganga or Gāṅga family, ruling over Cera country, p. 70, its Prince detained by Dhruva Rās K., p. 90; G. King captured by Govinda III, Rās. K., p. 91, submissive to Kṛṣṇa II, Rās. K., p. 96, 282,* 288, 295, 299,* 302, 308, 313, defeated by Kṛṣṇa III, Rās. K., p. 104, 283,* 290, 300, 304 n1, 314.* See also Cera.

Gaṅgadeva, a Kolhapur Śilāhāra Prince, p. 171.

Gaṅgādhara, son of Dādā, helped Mailugi, Yādava K., p. 147 & n 2.

Gāthā dialect, language of North Buddhist writings, pp. 366ff; has no fixed characteristics, p. 369; the Gāthā Dialect, not a separate dialect, mixture of Sanskrit and Pali; existence in it of ungrammatical forms, p. 367, 369. Gāthā dialect found by Hoernle in a Nasik Inscription, p. 367f; peculiar Gāthā expressions, p. 374.

Gāthā rule, p. 374f.

Gāthā writers, p. 369 f.

Gaudas, K. of— "taught humility" by Kṛṣṇa II, Rās K., p. 96, 282,* 287, 295, 299, 302, 308, 313*

Gauḍas = Bengal, K. invaded by Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 115.

Gauli (= cowherd), see under Ābhīra

Gaupta, Gaupṭe &c., see under Gupta.

Gautamīputra or 'puta &c., see under Gotamīputra, below

George III, (King of England), p. 219.

George IV, p. 219

Goa (as Gove) K., defeated by Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 120.

Godhra, chiefs of, combine against Lavaṇaprasāda, p. 153

Gogi or Gogirāja, a feudatory prince of Later Cā. dy, p. 141 & n 2

Gomka, or Gomkala or Gokalla, a Kolhapur Śilāhāra Prince, p. 171.

Gopta, a village in Kathiawad, its likely Prakrit and Vernacular corruptions, p. 393.

Gotamī, a Śātavāhana Princess, mother of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, p. 25, 27.

Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, a Śātavāhana K.; his history and greatness as described by his mother in the Nasik Inscriptions, p. 25f, destroyed Śakas &c., and uprooted the race of Khaḡarāta, p. 26; lord of Dhanakataka, p. 26f; his order to his lieutenant, p. 26f; his queen's orders, p. 27; 216,

his Date, p. 27f; his reign contemporaneous with that of Vasiṣṭhīputra Puṣumayi, *ibid*; belongs to Śātavāhana dynasty, p. 29; his Inscription narrating his having destroyed the foreign princes and re-established his dynasty, p. 33, 203, his order in the line acc. to Purāṇas, p. 34; his date, p. 36f, 47f, 42; he and Puṣumayi defeated the foreign king and established their authority, p. 40, 47; meaning of the Inscriptions re. Gotamīputra, *ibid*; relation of his chronology with other princes, pp. 37-42; afterwards attacks Castana or is attacked by C., p. 41f; different sources of history about G., p. 47f; his charities to Buddhists and Brahmins alike, p. 58; period between him and Valabhī dynasty, p. 259; characters in his Inscriptions, p. 259; its language, p. 367f. P. 413. P. 32, 38f, 51, 203 See also Śātakarṇi.

Gotamīputra Śrī-Yajña, or Yajña-or Yajña-Śrī, Śātakarṇi, a Śātavāhana K (different from Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, immediately above); Prakrit form of his name in Kanheri and Nasik Inscriptions, p. 29; the "Gotamīputasa Vilivāyakurasa" occurring on Kolhapur coins, p. 29f, 412; on the Supara Stūpa, p. 31, his chronological position, p. 32, his successor, p. 49, 203, 412ff, called Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, p. 36. 41. See also Yajña-Śrī Śātakarṇi & Śrī Yajña Satakani.

Govinda(rāja) I, one of the earliest kings of the Rās dynasty, p. 85, = Govinda mentioned in Ahole Inscription, *ibid*; attacks Cālukyas and becomes their ally, p. 85, 70 & n 2, 89, 281,* 287, 299,* 302, 313, 294,* 307.

Govinda(rāja) II, a Rās K., p. 89, given to sexual pleasures, superseded by his brother Dhruva, p. 89 & n 1; 294f; his other name, p. 89, 106; endeavours to regain throne but fails,

- p. 89; his name omitted in certain grants, p. 294f, 318f.
- Govinda(rāja) III, a Rāj. K., one of the greatest of the Rāj. kings, p. 90; Rājatrakūṣas become invincible under him, *ibid*; his wars, p. 91, 212; a confederacy of kings against him, p. 91; his charities, extent of his dominions, p. 92; gives the Lāṭa province to his brother Indra, *ibid*; his five other names, p. 92, 106, 277; his grants, p. 92; 110, 188; resemblance in the characters of one of his grants and the Javanese Inscription, p. 356.
- Govinda(rāja) IV, a Rāj. K., his exact position in succession to the throne, p. 98 f; his conduct towards his brother Amoghavarṣa II, p. 99, its defence, *ibid*; addicted to pleasures, and succumbs to diseases, p. 100; 282 f,* 288, 296, 299,* 302, 309, 314, his date, p. 100f; his three other names, p. 100, his successor, and predecessor, p. 101 f; his Sanghī grant, p. 98f, 186, 205.
- Govindarāja, an early Yādava K., p. 143, 194*.
- (I) Govinda, son of Karka, a Lāṭa-Rājatrakūṭa K., p. 320.
- (II) Govinda, an early Cera Prince, p. 422n; a grant made by him in the fourth year of the Śakas, *ibid*; doubtful nature of the same, *ibid*.
- Grammatical verse treatises, later than G. Sūtra works, p. 12n2.
- Greek Princes, mentioned in Aśoka's Inscriptions, p. 21.
- Greek Sources of Indian History, p. 2.
- Greeks and India, intercourse between them, p. 2.
- Gujarath Cālukya dynasty or G. Cālukyas; the dy. founded in the reign of Vikramāditya I, Early Cē. K., p. 75; the date thereof, p. 76; the Era used in their earlier Inscriptions, p. 76; their capital, p. 77.
- Gujarath Rājatrakūṣa dynasty, or G. Rājatrakūṣas; the dy. founded in the reign of Govinda III, Rāj. K., p. 92; 295; subjugated by the main dynasty, p. 98, 308; their grants, p. 320.
- Gujarath K. afraid of Kṛṣṇa, Yādava K. p. 157; a G. copperplate grant, translated and transcribed, p. 246-256.
- Gujarathī Brāhmaṇas, p. 158.
- For Gujarath, see also under Gūrjara and Lāṭa.
- Guptas, or Gupta Dynasty; the year of their coming into power, p. 38n; of their extermination p. 177f; successors of Satraps or Kṣatrapas, p. 182; broken by the incursions of Hūṇas, p. 201; predecessors of Valabhi in Surāṣṭra and introduced Gupta Era in that province, p. 260. P. 260 f. p. 399.
- Gupta date, p. 395.
- Gupta Era, a note on it, p. 176-185; p. 384, 399, its initial date, p. 384ff, p. 176; p. 399, as given by Alberuni p. 384, its importance for determining chronology of early centuries, p. 176; different dates of the G. E., p. 181f, 184f; p. 397f.
- Gupta Era (in a general way), p. 32n, 76, 205.
- Gupta Era = Valabhi Era, p. 391.
- Gupta Era, its epoch, p. 384-399; 406, 388.
- Gupta dates, p. 390, 397; in Eran Inscription, p. 387f.
- Gupta and Saka dates or years, p. 176; 179f; difference between them, p. 387f; confirming Alberuni's statement, p. 384.
- Gupta and Valabhi Eras, their initial dates, the same, p. 176ff, p. 260; p. 203, 389, p. 391.
- Gupta, Gaupṭa, and Gopta occurring in Valabhi Inscription, p. 404 f; p. 393.
- Gupta, = Gupta Era, 243*, 245, p. 392 ff.
- Guptakāla, = Gupta Era, p. 176.
- Gūṇ(y)ara K. conquered by, Puṣyakeśi II, Early Cē. K., p. 71; defeated by Kṛṣṇa I, Rāj. K., p. 323*, 327, 331; defeated by Kṛṣṇa II, Rāj. K., p. 96;

"terrified" by Kṛṣṇa II, 282,* 287; 295, 299,* 302, 308, 313; submissive to Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 120; to Bhīllama I, Yādava K., p. 148, 196,* 197;* defeated by Siṅghaṇa Yādava K., p. 151; = Lavaṇa-prasāda, retreating before Siṅghaṇa, p. 153, reduced by Govinda III, p. 283,* 290, 300,* 304, 314, and gives up hope of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa, *ibid.*

Gurjara Kings or Dynasty (in a general way), 247 f. 252,* 254, 264.

Gurjaras, settled in Punjab, their movements, 409f.

Gurjaras of Kanauj, date of their establishing a kingdom p. 212; their fights with Rāṣṭrakūṭas, *ibid.*

Gurjara copperplates, p. 215-18, 225, 239.

Guttas, sprung from ancient Guptas, holding a principality in the South, p. 155.

Gūhasena a Kolhapur Śiṅhāra Prince 171.

Gūvala, a Valabhī Prince, p. 224, 226,* 229, 236, 257f, 259 n2, 260.

H

Haihayas, a people; date of their rise, p. 65, submissive to Vinayakūtya, Early Cā. K., their matrimonial connection with Vikramāditya Cā. K. p. 80, also called Ka(ku)lacuris, p. 128, defeated by Early Cālukyas, p. 204, same as Cedi or Kalacuri, *ibid.*, H. of Kalyāṇa connected with Cedi branch, p. 18. See also Kalacuris and Cedi.

Hakuśī, a Śātavāhana Prince, mentioned in Nānāghaṭa Inscriptions, p. 23.

Hāla, of the Śātavāhana or Āndhra-bhṛtya dy., = Śālivāhana (q.v.), p. 46, p. 55.

Halleyaga, a Liṅgāyata of Basava's time, p. 130.

Hamā, an Early Yādava Queen, p. 142.

Hamīra, defeated by a boy-general of Siṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 151.

Harapāla, son-in-law of Rāmacandra

Yādava; revolts and drives away Mahomedans, p. 167; is defeated and flayed alive, p. 167.

Harihara, son of Bukkarāja of Vijayanagara dy., p. 59, 211.

Hārīti, the legendary ancestor of the Cālukyas, p. 109.

Hari Varmma, a Cera King, p. 480.

Harṣa or Harṣavardhana, of Kanauj, paramount lord of N. India; wanted to conquer S. India, p. 71f; opposed and defeated by Pulikeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 3, 71, 262; as (Śrī) Harṣa, p. 86, p. 262, 265f, 269, 272*, 273; Harṣavardhana = Śiṅhāditya, p. 72. See also Śiṅhāditya.

Hastin (Rājā), his Inscriptions, p. 178f.

Hemādipant, his Architecture, p. 164.

Henry III, (King of England), p. 221.

Heretics in Java, (mentioned by Fah-Hian), p. 359f.

Hindu Law, its codification in Later Cā. and Kalacuri periods, p. 133.

Hindu Monarchy of Deccan, destroyed by Mahomedans, p. 167.

Hindu Sovereigns of Java, p. 357.

Hindus, their usual way of expressing dates is in terms of expired years, p. 388f.

— their former colonising energy, and their communication with Cambodia and Eastern Archipelago, p. 362, Hindus from N. India and S. India migrating to Java, p. 359.

Hinduism in Java, p. 361f; wanting in tenacity, p. 361.

— flourishing with Buddhism in Valabhī times, p. 226.

— to be invigorated, p. 362.

— For Hinduism see also Brahmanism and under Buddhism.

Hindustani Brāhmaṇas, p. 158.

Hoyasāla = Southern Yādava Dynasty, p. 120, 126, = Poysāla, p. 120n3.

Hoyasāla K., defeated by Bhīllama V, Yādava king, p. 194*.

Hoyasāla Yādava of Halebid, growing powerful, p. 147.

— Karṇāṭa king, p. 159.

Hoyasajas, humbled by Singhaṇa Ya-dava, p. 155.

Hūṇas, the r incursions break Gupta power, p. 201.

Huṣka, king, and successor of Kaniṣka, p. 38n.

Hwan-Thsang, (also spelt as Huen-Tsiang, Hioun-Thsang), Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, p. 3; his Itinerary, p. 4; the work called Siyuki ? p. 181; its trans. by Julien, p. 387, his mention of Moholocha = Mahārāṣṭra, p. 20; H.-T. and Pulakeśi II, p. 204, 263, 265f, 271, 71ff; his visit to Mahārāṣṭra, p. 72f, H.-S.-his mention of Dhruvabhāṭa, p. 386f, H.-T. on Pāṇini being abridged and on Kātantra, p. 55; H.-T.'s mention of a kingdom of Broach, p. 251; his mention of Valabhi as a flourishing town, p. 259, p. 181.

I

Immadi Vijjana, son of Vijjaṇa Kalacuri, p. 131.

India (in general way), legends take place of History in I, p. 1, no written history, p. 1; no record of Pre-Mahomedan India, p. 1, 199, its provinces held in early times by foreigners, p. 361; Elucidation of its History by study of Inscriptions done by BBRAS, pp. 199-213; account of its inland towns given by Ptolemy, p. 37, its inland towns flourishing in Śātavāhana times, p. 60f.

Indians, going to Java and settling there, p. 359; its earliest notice, *ibid*.

Indian Antiquary, its establishment, work done by it, p. 3, 199.

Indian Colonisation of Java, p. 360ff.

Indian and Javanese Polity, similarly between them, p. 358.

Indian Kings, utmost average length of their reigns, p. 422n.

Indian Literature, as source for history of Indian thought and life, p. 4.

India and Eastern Archipelago, very early connection between them, p. 360.

India and Greeks, Intercourse between them, p. 2.

Indo-Āryans, see under Āryans.

Indo-Scythian kings, p. 38n.

Indra(rāja) I, an earlier Rās. K., mentioned in Ellora Cave Inscription, p. 85.

Indra(rāja) II, an earlier Rās. K., son of Karka I, marries a Cālukya Princess, p. 85.

Indra(rāja) III, a Rās. K., succeeds his grandfather, p. 97, 295, 309; the reason of this, p. 97, his other names p. 97, 323*, 324*, 332, 328*; his Paṭa-bandhotsava, p. 98; date of his accession, p. 98, his grant, p. 318. P 282*, 288*, 294, 299*, 302, 307, 313, 321*, 325*, 329, 333f, his short reign, p. 101.

Indra, a Rās prince, brother of Govinda III, Rās. K. The province of Lāṭa given to Indra, the founder of the Lāṭa—Rās branch, p. 92; 295, 309.

Inscriptions, (in a general way only), as source of Indian history, p. 2ff, 199, in Cave Temples of Western India, p. 4; dates in them represent in majority expired years, p. 389; the pioneer in deciphering them, p. 3, collection of Cālukya Inscriptions made by Sir Walter Elliot, p. 261f; the language of ancient Inscriptions, p. 367, 370, Pali Inscriptions, p. 367, Buddhist Inscription, p. 267.

Interest, its low rate in Śātavāhana times, p. 61, its low rate testifies to security and efficiency of Government, *ibid*.

J

Jagaddeva, a Liṅgāyata of Basava's time, p. 130.

Jagadekamalla I, another name of Jayasimha, Later Cā. K., p. 112; compare also p. 124n4. See under Jayasimha, Later Cā. K.

Jagadekamalla II, a Later Cā. K.,

successor of Someśvara III, p. 124f, his dates, p. 125, 128, 207, 124n4.

Jagadekamalla, as a title, p. 109.

Jagattuṅga I, a Rās K, son of Dhruva; to be identified with Govinda III, p. 92, 308; p. 319, 322*, 326*, 331; 294f, 307f, 282*, 287, 299*, 302, 313*. Another name of Govinda III, p. 93; See under Govinda III.

Jagattunga II, son of Kṛṣṇa II or Akā-lavarṣa II, p. 95, 97, 309; died without ascending the throne; the reason thereof, p. 97, 101&n, p. 278, 282*, 288, 294, 299*, 302, 307, 313*, 319, 323*, 327*, 331, p. 295.

Jagattunga (III), younger brother of Kṛṣṇa III, Rās K., the latter granting a village in the name of J. p. 104, 298, 311, 300*, 305, 315*, 317, J.'s virtues described by his elder brother, *ibid*.

Jahla, son of Dādā, p. 147f, 150.

Jainism, coming into prominence in Mahārāṣṭra in Cālukya times, p. 81, confined to Southern Maratha Country, p. 82, coming into prominence, p. 105, its decline, p. 133, supporters, p. 133.

Jains, the nature of their historical literature, p. 1, their conflict with Lingāyatas, p. 129, p. 419, their temples, made Brahmanic temples, p. 133, p. 418

(I) Jaitrapāla or Jaitrasīmha or Jaitugi, (son of Bhīlāma V), a Later Yādava K., his date, p. 149 & n3, defeated by Vīra Ballāla p. 149, his war with King of Trikalīngas, p. 149f, p. 195*, 197*, 160

(II) Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi, (son of of Siṅghaṇa) a Later Yādava prince, did not rule, & is not mentioned by Hemādri, p. 157.

Jajjalla or Jajalladeva, a King defeated by Siṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 150, = a King of the Eastern branch of the Cēdi dynasty, p. 151, 195*.

Jākabbā, wife of Tailapa I, K of the Later Cē. dynasty, p. 112.

Janārdana, son of Gaṅgādharma, Commander of Siṅghaṇa Yādava's troop of elephants, p. 150.

Jaṅgamas, their persecution, p. 131.

Jatiga I, founder of Kolhapur Śilāhāra dynasty, p. 171, 174.

Jatiga II, Kolhapur Śilāhāra ruler, p. 171; his title, *ibid*.

Javanese Inscription in Sanskrit, its transcript & translation &c, pp. 353-362; its characters like those of North Indian Inscriptions, p. 355, or Magadha variety, p. 359.

Javanese, official names (old), p. 358.

Javanese, and Indian Polity, similarity between them, p. 358.

Jayabhaṭa, a Gūrjara king, p. 248, 252*, 254.

Jayādāman, a Kṣātrapa K., son of Caṣṭana, p. 39, 41, 53, 200, dethroned by Gotamiputra, p. 42.

Jayakarṇa, son of Tribhuvanamalla Later Cē. K., p. 206.

Jayakeśi I, a Kadamba (or Konkan) prince, p. 116f., 210.

Jayakeśi II, a Kadamba (or Konkan) prince, p. 116ff, 210.

(I) Jayasīmha, an Early Cē. K., founder of the Early Cē. dynasty, p. 65, 67; defeats Indra Rās. p. 65, 67, p. 262.

(II) Jayasīmha or Jayasiṅgha, an Early Cē. prince, brother of Pulakeśi II, Early, Cē. K., ruler of Nasik, p. 73, p. 263f, 272*, 273.

(III) Jayasīmha (varman) or (rāja) Dharācāraya, founder of Gujarath Cālukya dynasty, p. 75; brother of Vikramāditya I, Early Cē. K., different from Jagasīmha (I), above, p. 77.

(IV) Jayasīmha, a Later Cālukya king, his other name Jagadekamalla I, brother of Vikramāditya II, p. 112; his date, reign, and exploits, p. 112; his latest date, p. 113, p. 124n4, 207, defeated king of Malwa ? p. 114; 135, 142. (Genealogy, No. 4).

(V) Jayasīmha, a later Cālukya prince,

brother of Vikramāditya II, Later Cē. K.; the province of Banavāsī granted to him, p. 118; meditates treason against V.; war between them; defeated but pardoned, p. 119f.

(VI) Jayasinha (varman) of the Gujaraṭh Cē. d., p. 75, 205.

Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasārāja, of Gujaraṭh Cē. dy., p. 76.

Jhallapulla = Śaṇapulla, (q. v.).

Jhaṇḍha, a Thana Śiṣhāra prince, p. 139f.

Jogama, a prince of the Kalyāṇa-Kalacuri line p. 128, 341, 344, 347.

Jupiter, his twelve-year cycle, p. 386, his helical rising, p. 399.

K

Kadambas, or Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsī, a line of princes, p. 210f, their capital, p. 211: their legendary origin, p. 210, predecessors and contemporaries of Early Cē. p. 211, 420, their title p. 210.

— defeated by Kirtivarman I, Early Cē. K., p. 68.

— defeated by Pulakeśi II, Early Cē. K., p. 70.

— adherents and patrons of Jainism, p. 211.

Kadambas (Later, of Goa), p. 211, adherents of Brahmanism, p. 211, defeated by the general of Singhaṇa Yādava, p. 155, K. of Goa, an offshoot of Banavāsī K., p. 211, their grant, p. 117; Later K., their title, p. 169.

Kakkala or Karka II, last Rās. K., his other name, defeated by Tailapa I of the Later Cē. dy., p. 104; 109, 188, 206, his dates, p. 104f.

Kakkūla, a king defeated by Singhaṇa Yādava, p. 150, 195*; = Kokkala belonging to Western Cedi dy., p. 181.

Kakusthavarman, a Kadamba prince p. 210.

Kalacuris or K dynasty, same as Cedi or Haihayas, p. 65, 204; ruling over

Cedi province, p. 65, 68; date of their rise, extent of their dominions, p. 65; earliest mention of the dy., p. 128; their history, pp. 128-132; date of their extinction, p. 129, 132, K. break Cē. power 147, K. family "mine of Kṣatriya Jewels," p. 341; a leading family, ibid; defeated by Maṅgalīśa, Early Cē. K., p. 68, Kalacurikula, 344*, 347, their relation with Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 277f, other Kalacuri princes, ibid, K. probable successors of Later Cālukyas, p. 126, 207; K., princes dependent on Kalyāṇa Cālukyas, p. 341. K of Kalyana, an offshoot of the main Cedi dy., p. 128; never completely supreme, their early extinction, p. 342, a Kalacuri grant deciphered and translated, pp. 340-352.

Kalambhras, a Southern people? p. 78, 80.

Kaliṅga, K. of, submissive to Pulakeśi II, Early Cē. K., p. 71, defeated by Dantidurga Rās., K. p. 86, submissive to Kṛṣṇa II, Rās. K., p. 96, 282*, 288, 295, 299*, 302, 308, 313*.

Kalivallabha, another name of Dhruva Rās. K., p. 282*, 287, 299*, 301, 313*. See also under Dhruva Rās. K.

Kalivikrama, another name of Vikramāditya II, Early Cē. K. (q. v.) p. 118.

Kālīya Ballāḷa, a Yādava K., p. 143, 194*.

Kalyāṇa Paṇamkarapa, a Javanese K., p. 353*, 355n3 See Kandiawan below.

Kalyuga Era, not different from the Mahābhārata Era, p. 267f.

Kāmarūpa (= Assam), its king invaded by Vikramāditya II, Later Cē. K., p. 115.

Kāṁvadeva, Chief of Koukan, belonging to a branch of the Later Cē. dy., p. 126; his title, p. 126, 169. Same as Kāṁvadeva, p. 207?

Kambojas, a non-Āryan tribe living in N. W. of India, mentioned by Pāṇini,

- p. 23; mentioned in *Aśoka's Edicts*, p. 17a.
- Kannarese Language**, p. 10.
- Kandakadevi**, a Rāj. queen, p. 101&n4, p. 277.
- Kandilwan**, a king mentioned in Javanese chronicles, same as *Kaliyāṇa Paṇḍhakaraya* mentioned in a Javanese Sanskrit Inscription, p. 358. See also *Kaliyāṇa Paṇḍhakaraya* above.
- Kanhāra**, **Kanhara**, **Kandhāra**, or **Kannara**(deva), Prakrit forms of the name of *Kṛṣṇa*(deva), Late Yādava K., p. 208, 279 (q. v.).
- Kaniṣka**, p. 38n. K. not the founder of Śaka era; reasons for this view, *ibid*; difference between the letters of his Inscriptions and those of Kṣatrapa kings, *ibid*; Gujarath and Mahārāṣṭra not ruled over by Kaniṣka, *ibid*.
- (I) **Kannaradeva**, see **Kanhāra** &c. above.
- (II) **Kannaradeva**, same as *Kṛṣṇa* III, Rāj. K., p. 279, 297, 310.
- Kanṭhaśaitra**, name of the favourite horse of Pulakeśi II, Early Ch. K., p. 222*, 273.
- Kāpya Dynasty** or **Kāpyas** or **Kāpyāyanas**, its duration according to *Purāṇas*, p. 33f; called *Śūṅgabhrīyas*; relation between **Kāpyas** & the *Śūṅgas*, a Brahman dynasty, p. 44; immediate predecessors of *Āndhrabhrīyas*, p. 46.
- Kānyakubja**. (= *Kanauj*) K. of, defeated by *Someśvara* I, Later Ch. K. p. 114.
- Kapardin**, a Śilāhāra prince, ruler of Konkan, p. 22, 209.
- Karddamaka**, family of *Mahākṣatrapas*, p. 31.
- Karbhāṭaka** = *Karbada* Brahmins, p. 173; their caste recognised in *Śilāhāra* times, *ibid*.
- (I) **Karka** I, an earlier Rāj. K., patron of Vedic Religion, p. 85.
- (II) **Karka** I, son of *Indra*, of the *Gujarath* Rāj. dy., p. 206, 320.
- Karka** II, or **Kakkala**, a Rāj. K. p. 104; his another name *Amoghavarṇa* IV, p. 108, [*Genealogy*, No. 19]; defeated by *Tallapa* I, Later Ch. K., p. 104; his dates, *ibid*.
- (I) **Karṇa**, King of *Odi*, deposed by *Someśvara* I, Later Ch. K., p. 114, 128n4.
- (II) **Karṇa**, a Yādava prince, p. 144n3.
- Karṇāṭa**(ka) army, = *Chlukya* army, p. 86n1.
- Karṇāṭa** K. = *Hoysala* Yādava K. of *Halabid*, p. 159; defeated by *Mahadeva* Yādava, p. 159*, 196*, 197*.
- Karpūratilaka**, an elephant of *Śiṅghaṇa* Yādava, p. 143, 194*.
- Kārtavīrya**, a feudatory of *Vikramāditya* II, Later Ch. K., p. 206f.
- Kāśī**, K. of, defeated by *Śiṅghaṇa* Yādava, p. 151.
- Kāśmīrians** settling in *Deccan*, p. 121, 156.
- Kauṅkaya**, See under *Konkan*.
- Keralas** K. of, conquered by *Sahadeva* Pāṇḍava, p. 16; in *Rāmāyaṇa* p. 17; defeated by *Pulakeśi* II, p. 71, by *Vikramāditya* I p. 75, by *Vikramāditya* p. 78, by *Vikramāditya* II p. 80, all of the *Early Ch. dy.*; = people of *Malbar*, conquered by *Vikramāditya* II, of the *Later Ch. dy.*, p. 115, 117.
- Keśava Mahājana**, a Minister of *Kārhvadeva*, *Konkan* chief, p. 126, 207.
- Keśava**, a Brahman chief who performed the *Āptoryāma* sacrifice p. 161. (same as *Keśava Mahājana* ?)
- Khagārāta** or **Khakhārāta** or **Khaharata**, race of, uprooted by *Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi*, p. 26, 33, 203, = dynasty of *Kṣatrapas*, p. 36f; p. 40. = *Kṣaharāta*, another name of *Nahapāna*, p. 26, 203. See also under *Kṣaharāta* and *Nahapāna*.
- Kharagraha** I, a *Valabhi* prince, p. 227*, 230, 236.
- Kharagraha** II, a *Valabhi* prince, p. 237.
- Kholeśvara**, a *Brāhmaṇa* general of

- Śiṅghapa Yādava**, p. 151f; Kś. exploits, p. 151, 154f.
- Khoṣika or Khoṣiga** (deva), a Rāṣ. K., p. 10. & nn4 & 5; son of Kandakadevi and Amoghavarṣa III; his relation to preceding and succeeding kings, p. 101-104, 102n2; his date, p. 104 & n3, step-brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III, p. 298, 311.
- Kīrti Nārāyaṇa**, another name of Raṭṭakandarpadeva = Indra III = Nityavarṣa Rāṣ. K. 323*, 328*, 332.
- Kīrtirāja**, a Kolhapur Śiṅhāra prince, p. 171.
- Kīrtivarman I**, an Early Cā. K.; his exploits, p. 68; 262, 272*, 269f, his dates, p. 271, 273.
- Kīrtivarman II**, an Early Cā. K., his reign, p. 80f, his date, *ibid*, his Southern exploits; defeated and dispossessed of his Kingdom by Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 81; 109, 105.
- Kok'ala**, a Cedi (Haihaya) king, p. 95, as "Kalacuri" prince, p. 277f, called also Raṇavigraha & Saṅkara-gaṇa, p. 97, 99. See also Kakkūla.
- Koṅgaṇi I**, a Cera king, p. 420.
- Koṅgaṇi II**, a Cera king, p. 420; his date, p. 421.
- Konkan**, K. of—, taking arms against Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 120, afraid of Kṛṣṇa Yādava, p. 157, defeated by Mahādeva Yādava, p. 159, 196*, 197*.
- Kosala K.** of—, submissive to Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 71, defeated by Dantidurga Rāṣ. K., p. 86; his Umbrella captured by Dhruva Rāṣ. K., p. 90; 319, 322*, 326*, 330.
- Kṛṣṇa(rāja) I**, a Rāṣ. K.; destroyed Early Cālukyas, p. 81, 87, 339; way of his accession to the throne, p. 86f, his other names, p. 87. His constructing the Ellāpura or Ellora Kailāsa temple, p. 87f; p. 281*, 287, 294, 299, 302, 307f, 313*, 335*, 339, his date, p. 89, 339, P. 170, 277, 294, 307, 318, 322*, 326*, 330, 335f, 338ff.

See also Akālavarṣa I and Subhātuga,
Kṛṣṇa(rāja) II, a Rāṣ. K., his other name; married a Cedi-Haihaya princess, p. 95; a powerful prince, p. 96; mentioned in a Jain work p. 96f; 295, 308; his date, p. 96f, 188, 319; resumes the Lāṭa province, p. 321; popular account of his fights with Gūrjara K., p. 319; a grant of his, p. 320, P. 206, 212, 282*, 287f, 294, 299*, 302, 307, 313*, 323, 327, 331. See also Akālavarṣa II.

Kṛṣṇa(rāja) III, a Rāṣ. K., p. 101 & n4; his relation to Khoṣika, p. 102; his reign, p. 103f; his exploits, p. 104, 278f; pl nts an Aryan Colony in in Gāṅga dominions, p. 104, 279; his colonising the South, p. 284f*, 291; his other names, p. 104, 106, 310f; his dates, p. 104, 205; confusion about his exact position, p. 297; his assisting his father, p. 103f, 296, 310, his epithets and Birudas, p. 284*, 291, 300*, 304, 315*. P. 283*, 289, 293f, 299, 300, 303f, 307, 314*, 315*; his Karhad grant transcribed and translated, pp. 275-292, his Deoli or Wardha grant, pp. 293-305; the latter, revised, pp. 306-317; called also Paramamāheśvara and Sarva-priya, p. 300*, 304, 315*. See also Akālavarṣa III, Vallabha and Śrī-vallabha.

Kṛṣṇa IV (Rāṣ. K.), no such prince, p. 297n2, 311.

(I) **Kṛṣṇa**, son of Dantivarman, a Lāṭa-Rāṣ. K.; his other name, p. 320.

(II) **Kṛṣṇa**, king of the Śātavāhana race, p. 23, 32; mentioned in Nanaghat Inscriptions, p. 23; second K. of the Śātavāhana or Āndhrabhr̥tya dy. acc to all Purāṇas, p. 34; his date, p. 48; 202.

(III) **Kṛṣṇa**, founder of the Kalyāṇa branch of Kalacuris, p. 128, 341, 344*, 347.

(IV) **Kṛṣṇa**, a king of the Later Yādava dy.; his reign and date; his exploits,

p. 157; staunch supporter of Brahmanic Vedic religion, p. 158; his Prakrit names, p. 157, 208. P. 195*, 197*. See also Kanhēra &c.

(V) Kṛṣṇa, Konkan Viceroy of Rāmacandra, Later Yādava K, p. 162.

(VI) Kṛṣṇa(rāya), king of the Vijayanagara dy., p. 211.

(VII) Kṛṣṇa (varma), a Cera king, p. 420.

— of the Kadamba race, p. 421 (same as above?).

Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu Incarnation, later than Rāma Incarnation, p. 16

Kṛta, name of the era of Mālavagana, p. 406*; dates with the word Kṛta prefixed, p. 410. See also Mālavagana.

Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, p. 23, 32; a foreign, but not a Greek name, p. 33. See also Khagāo or Khakhārāta, and Nahapāna.

Kṣatrapa(s), Sanskritised form of Persian word Satrap, p. 33, 222, consideration of K. chronology, pp. 36-43; representatives of the Śakas, p. 32n; adopt Hindu religion and manners, and names, p. 200, 222, 50, worshippers of Śiva-Rudra, p. 200; their dynasty, pp. 36ff; their matrimonial alliance with Śātavāhanas, p. 31, 42; foreigners; Parthians by descent, p. 200, 222, Śakas by descent, p. 50; their extinction by Candragupta (Vikramāditya) of the Gupta dy., p. 200; K. rule over Mahārāṣṭra (?), p. 36, 63; their history pieced together from coins, p. 200; their Inscriptions, p. 200; their coins, p. 42; found near Karhad, p. 63; K. dates are Śaka dates, p. 184.

Kṣatrapas, (Later), p. 64; of Ujjayinī, p. 31; of Kathiawad, p. 31. See also Satrap and Mahākṣatrapa.

Kṣatriya married ladies openly singing in Assemblies, p. 343f.

Kṣudrakas, called Āyudhajīvins, belong to Kṣatriya class; known to Pāṇini, p. 408; = Oxydras, ibid. See also Oxydras.

Kulaipa, a Pahlava of the time of Rudradāman Kṣatrapa, p. 39n1.

Kulaīraja, a Cera king, p. 420.

Kumārāgupta, (of the Gupta dy.), a paramount sovereign, p. 398; his father, p. 259.

Kuntala Śātakarpi, mentioned in Matsya Purāṇa, p. 56.

— Śātavāhana, mentioned in Kāma Sūtra, p. 56.

Kuṣana Stone Inscription, p. 213.

L

Lacciyavvā = Lakṣmī, Early Yādava Queen, q. v.

Lakṣma, A Hoysala General, p. 120.

Lakṣmanasena Era, p. 213.

(I) Lakṣmī, A Kalacuri princess, married to Jagattunga II, Rāṣ. prince, p. 277, 319, p. 323, 327, 332.

(II) Lakṣmī or Lacciyavvā or Lasthiyavvā, an Early Yādava Queen, p. 139f & nn; connected with three ruling dynasties, p. 140.

(III) Lakṣmī, a sister and administrator of Rāma, a Yādava general, p. 154.

Lakṣmīdeva, Son of Janārdana, mentioned by Jahlāṇa, p. 151f.

Lakṣmīdhara, a K. defeated by Śiṅghana Yādava, p. 150, p. 195*.

Lasthiyavvā = Lakṣmī, Early Yādava Queen, q. v.

Lāṭa K. of, conquered by Pulakeśi II, Early Cē K, p. 71.

— defeated by Dantidurga Rāṣ. K., p. 86

— defeated by Kṛṣṇa II, Rāṣ. K., p. 96. 2:2*, 287, 295, 199*, 202, 308, 313.

— defeated by Mahādeva Yādava, p. 159, 116*, 197*.

Lāṭa, Chiefs of, rise against Lavaṇa-prasāda, p. 153.

Lāṭa (branch of) Rāṣṭrakūṭas, date of its foundation and end, p. 320; not on friendly terms with Main Rāṣ. dy. p. 321; their grants, p. 320. For Lāṭa gener ally see also under Gujārath.

Later Cālukyas or Dynasty or Kings, history of the kings of the dynasty,

pp. 189-127; 208f. Later Chl Kings mentioned in Inscriptions p. 207; different branches of the d p. 109 f; 126f 207; date of its regaining power uncertain, p. 109; decline of their power, p. 125f; their feudatories rising against them, *ibid*; their genealogy p. 135. P. 66.

Later Kadambas, See under Kadambas.

Lavana or Lāvanya Prasāda, a Vāghe-la prince, p. 152f; a Mahāmaṇḍalaśvara, p. 153n3, submits to Śiṅghana Yādava K., p. 153; declares himself independent, p. 154; treaty between him and Śiṅghana as given in a Sanskrit work p. 153.

Law of Analogy, p. 376.

Lingāyata Sect or Religion, its rise, p. 126, 129, 133; its spread, p. 133; breaks the power of the Kalacuris, p. 147; its conflicts with Jains, p. 129.

Lingāyata, as Śiva worshippers, p. 131.

Literary taste (Sanskrit) its degeneration, p. 340.

Literary Works, as sources of Indian History, p. 2.

Local Self-Government, under the Śātavāhanas, p. 61f.

Lokamahādevī, wife of Vikramāditya II, Early Ca. K., p. 80.

Lords of Malwa, their era, p. 213. see also Mālavagana and Kṛta era.

Love, its ten conditions, p. 345*, 349n1.

Luni—Solar year, p. 399.

M

Madana Hala, son of Skandabhāṭa Valabhi, a minister p. 220.

Ma(or)dhariputra Śakasena, a Śāta-vāhana King, p. 29; 32; 303; 413.

Madhariputra Śātakarṇi, not mentioned in Purāṇas, p. 34.

Madhariputra Śakasena, same as Madhariputra; his identifier; doubtfully identified with Śiva-Śrī, p. 49; 414; reigning at Dhanakataka, p. 49; successor of Caturapana Śāta. p. 50; wife of a Kṣatrapa lady, p. 50— he and his father form a different

branch, p. 59; Dates of his reign in Decan, p. 50.

Madhariputra Śrīśakasena Śāta-vāhana, p. 203.

Madhariputra (sa) sevālakṛama, p. 38 413

(I) Mādava, a Cera King, p. 420.

(II) Mādava, a Cera King, p. 420.

(III) Mādava, Viceroy of Hastinara of Vijayanagara; besieges Goa, defeats Mahomedans; p. 59; 211.

Mādava, as "Aśvya"; his charities, p. 211.

Mādhavasena, p. 22

Maddhuveyya, a Lingāyata, p. 130.

Mādrikā, father of Basava, founder of Lingāyata Religion, p. 129.

Magadha King, submissive to Kṛṣṇa II, Ras. K., p. 282, 288, 295, 299, 302, 313, 318.

Magadha king, defeated by Kṛṣṇa Rāṣṭrakūṭa K., p. 96.

—defeated by Somēśvara III, Later Ca. K., p. 123.

Māgadhi Dialect, p. 415; Māgadhi Language, p. 9.

Mahābhārata era = Kali era, p. 265; 268; its traditional date, p. 267; also known as Yudhiṣṭhira Era; *ibid*.

Mahabhoja, p. 18.

Mahabhojī, p. 19.

Mahabhoja princes, in Śātavāhana times, p. 57.

Mahabhojas, their intermarrying with Mahārathis, p. 19n2.

Mahādeva, a king of Later Yādava Dynasty, p. 157, 162, 208; his reign and date, p. 159f; his valour and virtues p. 159; 195*, 196*, 197*, 198*; his epithets, p. 161; mentioned in Pandharpor Inscription, p. 188; destroys North Konkan Śilāharas, p. 210.

Mahākṣatrapas, p. 200 f; the Kardama family of Mahākṣatrapas p. 31.

Mahammed Kasim, his invasion of Gu-jarath, p. 77.

Mahāyāna (Sect), of Buddhists, p. 386f.

Mahārāṣṭra, its social, religious, Eco-

- nomie etc. condition under Śātavāhanas, p. 57f; the same under early Cālukya, p. 81f; under Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 103f; the same under Later Cālukya, p. 133f; and Kalacūria, p. 133f; Śaka era used in — early, p. 38n; History of Mahārāṣṭra in centuries preceding Christian era not traceable, p. 31; its History from after Andhrabhūtyas to rise of Cālukyas, uncertain, p. 63f; 203f; always politically associated with Kanarese country, p. 208; many of its ancient capitals situated in the present Nizam's territory, p. 308.
- Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins, names of modern Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins found in early grants, p. 158.
- Mahārāṣṭra Language, p. 9, 55; the principal Prakrit Language of Mahārāṣṭra, date of its origin, p. 19f; 10; first used for literary purpose, p. 56.
- Mahārāṣṭra, = Moholacha p. 71.
- Maharāṣṭha, Skr. Mahārāṣṭra called after Maharāṣṭhis p. 18f. a name used in early centuries of Christian Era. p. 19.
- Mahārāṣṭhas Maharāṣṭhis p. 18.
- Maharāṣṭhi, The name of a tribe; p. 19n3 = Modern Maratha, ibid.
- Maharāṣṭhi Princes, in Śātavāhana times p. 57.
- Mahārāṣṭhis, p. 64.
- Maharāṣṭhi & Maharāṣṭhini donors, and heroes, mentioned in Inscriptions p. 19.
- Maharāṣṭhis, Their inter marrying with Mahabhojas p. 19 n 2.
- Mahārāṣṭhigana kayiro, Mentioned in Nānābhāṣa Inscriptions p. 23.
- Mahendrapāla Kanauj Prince; patron and pupil of Poet Rājasekhara; Rājasekhara's Account of the King p. 212, a foreigner and Gūrjara, but Hinduised; ibid.
- Mahīdhara, son of Dādā (q. v.) of early Yādava times p. 147, defeats Vijaya p. 147.
- Mahīpāla, a Kanauj Prince p. 212,
- Mahomedans p. 165; establish their rule over Mahārāṣṭra p. 166. See also Mas-salman.
- Mahomedanism, coming into India of— p. 361; its forcible conversion of Hindus; its ultimate effect, ibid.
- Mohomedanism, its imparting a slight monotheistic tendency to Hindu religions, sects p. 361.
- Mahomedan Era; Its use and continuance by Marathas p. 223, by British Govt. until recently, ibid.
- Mahumad of Ghiani, his invasion of Gujaratha p. 176.
- Mailalamahādevī, A Kadamba Queen p. 210.
- (I) Mailugi, A Yādava prince; same as Mailugi below, p. 149.
- (II) Mailugi, Father of Śāvaladevi, the kalacūri Queen, p. 343; 345f; 350.
- Maināka King, helped by Māhadeva Yādava p. 196.
- Malapas, a people? p. 120.
- Mālavas, Their history before and after their formation as a union pp. 406ff. Their original occupation, mercenary soldiers; p. 407. Date of their forming the union p. 408. Called Āyudhājivins; belong to ksatriya class; known to Pāṇini, 408, mentioned in Mbh; 408f. as "Northern peoples," p. 409. Udicya (Eastern) p. 409. Pratiya = western p. 409. A Republican Union and not monarchical p. 409. Migrating from North to South, p. 409. Coins issued in their names p. 409.
- Malava Republic, its era had the name Kṛta given to it. p. 410.
- Mālavagana 406*; 407*; Stithivāsa 407. Mālavānām Gaṇastiti, 407.
- Mālavānām Jaya ° vaganasya Jaya. p. 409 as their coin legend.
- Mālava era = Vikrama era p. 398.
- Mālava King of—conquered by Pulakeśi II Later Cāl K. p. 71.
- Mālava King of—ally of Viṇayāditya, Early Cāl K. p. 78.

Mālava King of, defeated by Dantidurga Rāj. K. p. 86.
 Mālava King, Surrenders to Gov'nda III Rāj. K. p. 91.
 Mālava (Malwa) confederacy broken by Jayasirha Later Cē. K. p. 112.
 Mālava King, humbled by Siṅghaṇa Yādava K. p. 151.
 Mālava King (Malwa) afraid of Kṛṣṇa Yādava p. 157.
 Mālava King, afraid of Mahādēva Yādava K. p. 159; 197.
 Mālava King, defeated by Rāmacandra of the Later Yādava Dynasty p. 161.
 Mālava King (defeated by Vijjaṇa Kalacuri) pp. 341; 344*; 348.
 Mālava King helped by Vikramāditya, Later Cē. K. p. 115.
 Mālavikā, (heroine of Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra) p. 22.
 Mālayas, (people) flying before Uśavādāta p. 24.
 Malayavati, a Śātavāhana queen p. 56.
 Malhapī, mother of Śaṅvaladevi, a Kalacuri Queen, p. 343; 346*; 350.
 Malik-Kafur, sent to conquer Tailaṅgaṇa and Deccan; to subdue Śaṅkara, last Yādava Prince; defeats and kills him. p. 166.
 Mali, a tribe of warriors in the time of Alexander the Great=Mālavas, p. 408.
 (I) Mallā, a King defeated by Jalha, p. 148.
 (II) Ma'la, or Mallisetti, a governor appointed by Siṅghaṇa Yādava p. 158. his gifts to Brahmins; ibid
 Malladeva, a Cera King; his date. p. 421 n.
 Mallagi, a Yādava prince, same as (I) Mallugi? p. 194.
 Mallalamahādevi, daughter of Vikramāditya II Later Cē. K. and married to a Konkan prince, p. 117.
 Mallaya, a Liṅgayat p. 130.
 (I) Mallugi an early Yādava prince p. 140; 144u2; 147f; his war with Vijjaṇa Kalacuri prince. p. 147.

(II) Mallugi a Yādava Prince of a collateral Yādava Dynasty and different from (I) Mallugi p. 148n2.
 Malvā or Malvā, K.of, see under Mālava
 Mancaṇṇā Minister of Vijjaṇa Kalacuri p. 129, an enemy of Basava; informs Vijjaṇa of Basava's activities p.130 f.
 (I) Maṅgalīśa, An early Cē.; K.p.68, 128, 262*, his conquests, his date, 69 and n3 271, his intrigues to keep off his brother's sons p. 70, killed p. 70, General of his brother, p. 270f. p. 262, (not mentioned in some grants—p.263) had the Badami Inscription engraved p. 263, his dates p. 271.
 Maṅgalīśa Badami Viṣṇu cave, p. 83.
 Māraśarva King of Vindhya territory, surrenders to Govinda III Rāj. K. p. 91.
 Mārasimha, Kolhapur, Śiṅghara Prince pp. 171 n1 & 2; 188. builder of temples; his capital; p. 171.
 Maratha Brahmins p. 158.
 Maratha Empire p. 208.
 Maratha dynasties, ancient and modern establishing themselves in Gujaraṭh p. 208.
 Maratha Rajas using Mahomedan Era. p. 223.
 Marathi Language An offshoot of Sanskrit, p. 9.
 Marwar princes rising against Lavaṇa prasāda, p. 153.
 Mathurā King of, defeated by Siṅghaṇa Later Yādava king p. 151.
 Maudgalayana, discip'le of Buddha. p. 365.
 (I) M-urya Dynasty of Candragupta p. 2; 991f; its duration according to Purāṇas, p. 33; 43.
 (II) Mauryas Defeated by Kirtivarman Cēlukya, p. 68; probably chiefs of Northern Konkan; ibid
 Mauryas of Konkan defeated by Pulakeśi II. p. 70.
 Mauryas of Konkan and Southern Gujaraṭh. p. 77.
 Mayūravarma a feudatory prince of Vikramāditya II. Later Cē. K. p. 208.

- Merchants, their wealth in Śātavāhana times, p. 61.
- Moḍi, writing brought from Ceylon by Hemādri, p. 164; also see under Hemādri.
- Moggaliputto, sent missionaries to countries in the South, p. 19.
- Moholacha, Mahārāṣṭra, p. 71.
- Monasteries, for Buddhists, p. 57.
- Mubarik, son of Allauddin, p. 167.
- Marches to Deccan; defeats Harapāla and slays him alive, p. 167.
- (I) Mularāja, the founder of the Anhilapaṭṭana Cālukya Dynasty pp. 111; 153n3.
- (II) Mularāja King, defeated by Kṛṣṇa Yādava p. 195*.
- Municipal, Institutes in Śātavāhana times, p. 61.
- (I) Muñja, the uncle of Bhoja and ruler of Malwa, p. 111, his offensive against Tailapa, a dramatic play representing the fall of— p. 113, executed by Tailapa, p. 112ff.
- (II) Muñja, defeated by Bhīlāma II Early Yādava King, p. 141, 148 and n3.
- Music, as forming part of Kṣatriya girls' education in mediæval, p. 343f.
- Art of Gandharvas, p. 402.
- Mussalmans, established at Delhi, p. 165. See also under Mahomedans.

N

- Nāgalāmbikā, sister of Basava (founder of Liṅgāyata Religion), and mother of Cenna-Basava, p. 129.
- Nāgari letters, their development in Java, p. 359*.
- Nāgavardhana, an early Cā. prince, p. 204f, 263f, 269, 272, 273.
- Nāgavardhana, an early Cā. prince (different from above), p. 272*, 273.
- Nahapāna, a king called Kṣaharata, p. 23, 48; called a Kṣatrapa, of Kṣaharāta p. 222; a foreign name, p. 222; p. 32f, 36ff, 51. Called Mahākṣatrapa, p. 203, 208; belongs to Saka race, p. 203, 222.
- Displaces Śātavāhana rule, p. 203. He or his lord is the Saka K from whom the Saka era originated p. 222; his dates refer to Saka era, p. 38; no connection between him and Caṣṭana p. 36f. date of his defeat by Gotāmi-putra Śātakarpi, p. 40, Satrap of Ma'ārāṣṭra, p. 40 his capital, ibid; date of his death, p. 40; his dates, p. 39, 48; relation of his chronology with other princes, p. 40f; his monuments, p. 208. See also Kṣaharāta, Khagārāta, Khakhārāta.
- Nalas, a family of princes, p. 68.
- Nandipotavarman, a Pallava prince, defeated by Vikramāditya II, Early Cā. K., p. 80.
- Narahari Mādhaba, a Viceroy of Vijayanagara K., p. 211.
- (I) Narasimha, of a branch of the Later Cā. Dy., p. 110 (twice).
- (II) Narasimha, a Hoysala Yādava prince, p. 148.
- Nasals in the body of a word marked as an Anusvara, p. 340.
- Nāyaladevi, an early Yādava Queen, p. 141.
- Nāyanikā, a Queen mentioned in Nana-ghat Inscriptions, p. 23.
- Nayima or Nāyvarman, a Kolhapur Śilāhara prince, p. 171.
- Nepalese Buddhist Writings, see Northern Bu. Writings.
- Nepala, K. of, defeated by Someśvara III, Later Cā K., p. 123.
- Nigamasabhā = town corporation, mentioned in Nasik Inscriptions, p. 61.
- Nilalocanā, wife of Basava (founder of Liṅgāyata Religion and Sister of Vijaya Kalacuri K., p. 129.
- Nilambā, wife of Basava, p. 131.
- (I) Nirupama another name of Dhruva Rāṣ. K., p. 231, 237, 294, 307, 299, 302; 313, 322, 326, 330. See also under Dhruva, Rāṣ. K.
- (II) Nirupama, father of Kakkola or Karka IV, Rāṣ. K., p. 104, 298, 311.
- Nityavarṇa, another name of Indra III

Rāṣ K., p. 97; p. 101n1, 328. See also under Indra III.

North Indian grants, (in a general way), p. 356.

North Konkan Śiṣharas. See under Śiṣharas.

Northern or Nepalese Buddhist writing, their language, its origin and nature, p. 368ff. See also under Buddhism.

Nṛpatunga, another name of Amoghavarṣa I, Rāṣ K., p. 292, 287, 294, 299, 302; 307, 313.

Numerals, ancient Skr. N. have fixed values, p. 214; in Nasik and Karla Inscriptions, p. 215f; in a Valabhi grant, p. 225, symbol for a thousand, p. 215; for ten, p. 218. P. 212, 203.

Nuraḍi Taila, another name of Tailapa II, Later Cā. K., p. 125, 207, see also under Tailapa II.

Oxydras = Kṣudrakas, a tribe, met by Alexander the Great, p. 408. See also under Kṣudrakas.

P

Padmāvatī, sister of Basava married to Vijaya Kalacuri, p. 129.

Paṇḍarāyī (or vi) = Puṣyamai Śātakarṇi, q. v.

Pahlavas, the time of their making themselves masters of the Deccan, p. 33; destroyed by Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, p. 26, 33. P. races settled in India, p. 361; a Pahlava Viceroy appointed by Rudradāman, p. 39n1.

Pāla kings, their Inscriptions, p. 426n.

Pali Language, p. 9, p. 365 f; P. the language of Early Inscriptions, p. 64; Pali Inscriptions where found, p. 367, a sacred and literary language among Buddhists p. 368; ceases to be a Vernacular and used, and becomes a sacred language, p. 368; P. the speech of the uneducated, p. 370; its claim as a separate language not recognised, p. 370.

Pallava K., revolts against Vikramā-

ditya I, Early Cā. K., p. 75. defeated by Vinayāditya, (p. 70), by Vikramāditya II, (p. 80), by Kirtivarman II, (p. 81), all of the Early Cā. dy.; defeated by Dhruva Rāṣ K., p. 89.

Papamkarapa (Mahārāja), a Javanese K., p. 353*, 354, 356ff; his relation with Śailendra, another Javanese K., p. 357.

Pa(Pa*)śāślas, p. 13.

Pañcavaṭī, of Rāma, p. 8; identified with Nasik-Pañcavaṭī, p. 9.

Pāṇḍus, tribe of, p. 13.

Pāṇḍyas, ("sprung from Pāṇḍus") not noticed by Pāṇini, but noticed by Kātyāyana p. 13; not known to Pāṇini, p. 14, subdued by Sahadeva Pāṇḍava, p. 16; mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts, p. 18, p. 21f; become allies of Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 71, 272, 273, defeated by the Vikramāditya I, (p. 75), by Vinayāditya, (p. 78), by Vikramāditya II, (p. 80), all of the Early Cā. Dy.; made tributary by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ K. p. 104, 278, 284, 291; revolt against Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 120, subdued by Siṅghapa Yādava K., p. 155; by Vijaya Kalacuri, p. 341, 344, 348.

Pāṇḍya Kingdom, its existence about the commencement of the Kian Era, p. 422 n.

Paramāra, dynasty of Malwa, p. 212.

(I) Paramardi (deva) or rāya another name of Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 118, 120, 142 f, 194 See also under Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K.

(II) Paramardi, a Kalacuri prince, p. 128, 341, 344, 347.

Paramadeva, a Yādava K., p. 137 n, p. 143, 194.

Pārasikas = Syrians, settled on Malabar coast defeated by Vinayāditya Early Cā. K., p. 79.

Parṇadatta, Viceroy of Skandagupta (of the Gupta Dy.) p. 259.

Pāṭhaka as a family name, p. 158.

Periplus, as source of Indian History

- p. 4; its mention of Dakṣiṇāpatha as Dakṣiṇāpadesa, p. 5; of P (B) aithana=Paithan p. 18, p. 184; its account of Indian trade and commerce, p. 36; its mention of Indian Sea Port towns, p. 38f.; of Ozene=Ujjair, p. 184.
- Peshwas, using Mahomedan Era, p. 223; p. 44.
- Petnikas, Paithanakas, a people mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts, p. 17f. 21f.
- Phonetic changes (in Prakrits) due to language being spoken by other races; the process of corruption, p. 9.
- Phonetic peculiarities of alien races incorporated by Āryas, p. 10.
- Pogilli, a prince of the Sendraka race in Mysore, p. 79.
- Polemios, mentioned by Ptolemy p. 184; See also Siro Polemios and II Pulumayi.
- Po'ynesins, original inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago, p. 362.
- Prabhākara-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāṇapa-bhaṭṭa, a donee, p. 334.
- Prabhavarāṇa another name of Govinda III, Rāj. K., p. 92, 101n1; see also under Govinda III, Rāj. K.
- Prakrits, corruption of Sanskrit words in them, p. 9; these corruptions not due to natural causes, Pra. forms represent pronunciation by different races of Skr. words, p. 9; first used for literary purposes, p. 56; P. use urged by Hoernle, p. 380; a dialect derived from Skr, p. 367.
- Prasāntarāja, son of Vitarāja, a Guṛjara K., p. 248, 253, 254. =Dadda I, G rjara K (q. v.)
- Pratāparudra, adopted son of Rudra or Rudramā (daughter "King" of Gaṇapati Kākatya), King of Tailāṅga, p. 160 f.
- Pratyāṇḍaka, K. of—defeated by Bhīlāma V, Yādava K., p. 148, 194.
- Prolarāja, of the Kākatya d. of Tailāṅga, rises against Tailāpa II, Later Cā. K., p. 125.
- Prthivimūla (Raja), his Godāvari Inscription, p. 213.
- Prthivīrāma, a feudatory Chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 25, 205.
- Prthivīvallabha, title of Kṛṣṇa III, Rāj. K., p. 284, 291, 300, 304, 315; see under Kṛṣṇa III, also.
- (II) Prthivīvallabha title of Govinda III, Rāj. K., p. 92.
- Prthivīvallabhamahārāja, a title of Ca. kings, p. 270.
- Ptolemy, Greek Geographer, as source of Indian History, p. 4; the year of his death, p. 38; his mention of Pulindas, p. 11; his mention of Paithan, p. 18, 47, 60; his mention of Āndrabhratyakings, p. 46; his mention of Hippocura, p. 61; his mention of Caṣṭapa and Pulumayi, 183ff, proper interpretation of the information supplied by P., p. 183f.
- Pulakeśi I, an Early Cā. K., his Aśvamedha, his capital; first great prince of the d., his full title, p. 67; p. 262; his date p. 264n1.
- Pulakeśi II, an Early Cā. K., his full title, his difficulties, p. 70; his abilities; gets back the throne for his line, p. 263, his dates, cf p. 70 f, 270 f. 204; same as in Aihole Inscription pp. 63ff. 2 his conquests, p. 71, his defeat of Harṣa, p. 71, 262; his Inscription, p. 71; his Chiplun Inscription, p. 74. Hwan Tshang's visit of him, p. 71 f; 204; supreme lord of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas p. 71; embassies between him and Chosroes II, K. of Persia. p. 73, greatest prince of Cā. d., p. 73. p. 266, 269, 271, 272*, 273.
- Pulakesi, of the Gujraṭh Cā. branch defeats Tājikas, p. 77.
- Pullasakti of the Śiṅghāra family p. 93, 209.
- Pulamāvi or Pulumayi, two kings bearing that name as immediately following p. 37.
- (I) Pulumayi or Paṭimāvi, Pulomavi or Patumat or Aṭamanā, an Earlie,

- prince of Andhrabhṛtya p. 37, 45; (Table) "not a prince of any note" p. 37.
- (II) Pulumāyi, Vāsisthiputra; a Śātavāhana King (being the one mentioned in Inscriptions and on coins.) Grandson of Gotamī and son of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, p. 25, 27-29 Inscriptions dated in his reign only, p. 23n, p. 29, 30, 32, P. and Gotamīputra; reigning simultaneously p. 23, belongs to Śātavāhana p. 29, p. 34, P=Siro Polemios mentioned by Ptolemy, p. 37 p. 47=Vāsisthiputa (Vijivāyakra) of Kolhapur coins, pp. 29f, p. 37f. his date p. 38f. p. 48, his chronological relation with Gotamīputra, *ibid*; his defeat of Nahapāna, p. 39 p. 39-41. P. with G. driving out foreigners from Mahārāṣṭra, p. 47. his reign at Dhanakāṭaka and its duration, p. 49f, in Mahārāṣṭra, *ibid*. P. 51. P=probably the legendary Śālvāhana, p. 53, Lord of Navanara p. 60, Pulumāyi as Paḍumāyi, p. 216 as Paṭumāyi on coins, 413f. see also Vāsisthiputra Sri Pulumāye, Polemios and Siro Polemios.
- Purāṇas (in a general way) on Rama's place of residence in S. p. 8f; Pu. as sources of history, p. 1f, Puranic genealogies, p. 421, 33. Pu on the period between Candragupta Maurya and foundation of Andhrabhṛtya d. p. 36 Pu. on ancient trites, p. 11; on Andhrabhṛtya Kings, p. 33ff Pu on Gotamīputra, p. 42, relation between the different Pu p. 42f; genesis of the Pu literature its form p. 43f, mode of narration, written and orally transmitted their text, their historical contents, Pu. devoted to specific deities, doctrines, *ibid*, Pu. on Maurya p. 43; on Śunga d. p. 48f, on Andhrabhṛtya d. p. 41, on Kāṇva d. *ibid* Puranic account of post Śātavāhana period more confused, p. 64.
- Puranic religion flourishing under Later Cā. and Kalacuris, p. 133.
- Purdah system among Marathas not existing in 12th century A. D. p. 344.
- Puspagupta, a vaiśya Police officer of Candragupta Maurya, p. 201.
- Puṣpamitra or Puṣyamitra, founder of Śunga dy. kills Bhadratha Maurya, p. 33; his dynasty, *ibid*.
- R**
- Racobyśmalla or Racamalla, a king defeated by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K. p. 293f, 290, 296*, 299*, 303, 310, p. 314*.
- Rāha (Vernacular) used in Sankrit composition p. 154a.
- Rābappa, a king defeated by Kṛṣṇa I Rāṣ. K. p. 87.
- Rājāditya, a Cola King destroyed by Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣ. K. p. 279, p. 297, 310. Cola, his another name B (V) Appuṭa p. 310.
- Rajajugi, Yādava King p. 193*.
- Rājārāja, one of the other names of Amoghavarṇa I, Rāṣ. K. p. 93, q. v.
- Rajiga, King of Veṅgi, seizes Cola Throne p. 117.
- Rājvgi or Śrīrāja an Early Yādava prince, p. 138, p. 138n4.
- Rāma, son of Kholeśvara, Brahman Commander of Śiṅghaṇa p. 152; p. 154f—Killed in a Gujarath War p. 152.
- Rāmabhadra a Kanauj Prince p. 312.
- Rāma, Incarnation older than Kṛṣṇa Incarnation p. 16.
- Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva or Rāmārāja, son of Kṛṣṇa of the later Yādava family wrests the Yādava power p. 160; his reign; p. 160--166.
- Rāmacandra, Later Yādava prince, his Inscriptions found upto Mysore p. 161; extent of his empire; p. 161, —of Later Yādava dynasty, last of Independent Hindu Sovereigns of Deccan, p. 165
- Later Yādava prince, taken prisoner to Delhi. p. 166; released, p. 166.
- Last Yādava prince, makes peace with Alla-ud-din Khilji, p. 165.
- Yādava in Thana Grant, p. 188.

- Later Yādeva prince, his date, p. 162; his gifts to Brahmans, p. 162, 164.
- Rāmadēva or Rāmacandra of the Yādeva dynasty; his date and Inscription, p. 208.
- Raṣarāga, Early Chūlukya king, his valour and gigantic person, p. 67, 282.
- Raṣarāgabhīma, of about 1000 A. D. = probably Tailapa I of the Later Chūlukya dynasty, p. 141.
- Raṣavīgraha, a Kalacuri prince, p. 277. His name occurs in a Sanskrit verse, p. 278.
- a Cedi, Kalacuri or Haihaya King, p. 312; son of Kokkalla, p. 323*, 325*, 331.
- Rāstikas (or Rāṣtrakas), mentioned in Aśoka Edicts as people whom Aśoka sent Missionaries, p. 17f; = Rāṣṭrikas = people of Mahārāṣṭra, p. 18, 21f; mentioned along with Pētīnikas, p. 17n.
- (I) Rāṣṭrakūṭa, son of Raṭṭa, after whom the family was so called, p. 281*, 286, 299, 302, 313*.
- (II) Rāṣtrakūṭas, a branch of Raṭṭas, (q. v.), p. 18. The main branch of the Raṭṭhas, p. 64.
- Rāṣtrakūṭa princes, their early Mahārāṣṭra rule, p. 65.
- Their rise, simultaneous with that of Ābhīras, p. 65.
- The territories where their grants and plates are found, p. 81.
- History of the dynasty pp. 85 of, to 107.
- Descendants of Prince Raṭṭa, p. 85.
- belonging to Yadu Race, Sātyaki branch, p. 85; 294*, 307, 318.
- real native rulers of Mahārāṣṭra, p. 85.
- invincible in Govinda III's time, p. 90.
- Rāṣtrakūṭas, their main line reduces their Gujarath Rāṣtrakūṭa branch, p. 98,
- Rāṣtrakūṭa, rule displaced by Chūlukya rule, p. 104; duration of Rāṣ. rule, p. 105.
- Period, general survey of, p. 105f.
- Princes, powerful and generous, p. 105; Puranic Religion becoming predominant, decline of Buddhism in Rāṣ. times, p. 105; Hindu Architecture under Rāṣ., p. 105.
- Patrons of learning and poets, p. 105.
- Rāṣtrakūṭas, calling themselves Valabha, p. 106.
- Kings, their genealogy including the early king of the Gujarath Branch, p. 108.
- Later princes connected by marriage with Haihayas, p. 128.
- overthrown, p. 141.
- Dynasty (their Inscriptions &c.), p. 205-6.
- Family ruling for five generations before Dantidurga, p. 206.
- Genealogy of—, from Dantidurga First Rāṣ. to Kakkala last Rāṣ. given in Kharepatan grant, p. 206.
- ²dynasty, its branch established in Gujarath, p. 206.
- their Monuments of the—, p. 208.
- Sameness of descriptions of kings in— grants, p. 276.
- Sprung from a family known as Tuṅga, p. 276, 307.
- Doubts and difficulties: in Rāṣ. genealogy cleared up by a grant, p. 294, 307.
- King Kṛṣṇa I and Elāpura [temple built by him], p. 335-339.
- Princes connected with Cedi family, p. 341.
- family so called after Rāṣtrakūṭa, son of Raṭṭa, p. 281*, 286, 299*, 302, 313*.
- family, p. 66n, 106n2*, 140n, 141n, 277.
- Date of their rise, p. 81.
- Copperplate grants of Rāṣtrakūṭas p. 4.

- = Balhara of Arabic Travellers, p. 107.
- fighting against Kanauj Gurjaras, p. 212.
- Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kula, p. 322*, 330, 326*.
- Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty = Strakūṭa dynasty? p. 65.
- grants mostly in classical Sanskrit verse, p. 165.
- Rāṣṭrikas, & p. 18; See under Rāṣṭrikas above.
- Raṣṭarājya = Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, p. 283*, 289, 283*, 289, 299*, 303, 314*, 322*, 326*, 331.
- Raṣṭarājyapuravara = Mānyakheta, Rāj. capital, p. 299*, 303, 314.
- Raṣṭas, having regular kingdoms in Deccan or Māhārāṣṭra, at about Aśoka's time, p. 18.
- Raṣṭas holding political supremacy in Deccan from earliest times, p. 18; their subsequent vicissitudes, *ibid.*
- different spellings of the word —
- Raṭṭhis, Rāṣṭrikas, Raṭṭis, p. 18.
- Raṭṭahas, forming themselves into Kūṭas = groups, p. 64.
- held in subjection by Āndhra-bhṛtyas and Later Kṣatrapas, p. 64, regain independence, *ibid.*
- Raṭṭaha tribes = Raṭṭhis, p. 61; See also Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
- (I) Raṭṭas, Feudatories in Southern Maratha Country defeated by Siṅghana's general, p. 155.
- Raṭṭhas, in Māhārāṣṭra in Aśoka's time p. 85; giving their name to Māhārāṣṭra, p. 85; Raṭṭhis or Rāṣṭrikas a Kṣatriya tribe, predominant in Māhārāṣṭra from early times, p. 64.
- Raṭṭhakūṭa, Raṭṭhor = Sanskrit Rāṣṭrakūṭa, p. 64.
- (I) Raṭṭa, the original progenitor of Rāj. p. 281*, 286, 299*, 302, 313*.
- (II) Raṭṭa, this son is called Rāṣṭrakūṭa p. 85;
- (III) last of the Southern Konkan Śiṅgharasa, p. 170 n 2; Raṭṭa misread as Bahu, p. 170 n 2.

- Raṭṭakandarpadeva, another name of Indrarāja III, Rāj. K. p. 323*, 326, 332.
- Ritual, Sacrificial, reorganised by writers belonging to early Ch. times, p. 83
- (I) Rudra, a Cera prince defeated by Amoghavarṣa I, Rāj. K. p. 282*, 288; 299*, 303, 314*.
- (II) Rudra, Lord of Tailaṅgas = Rudradeva of the Kākatiya Dynasty, killed by Bhīlāma V, Yādava K., p. 149, 195*.
- (III) Rudra, originally a daughter named Rudramā, made ruler, and called "King Rudra" by Gaṇapati of Kākatiya Dynasty, p. 159 ff. defeated but spared by Mahādeva Yādava, p. 159.
- Rudramā, queen of Tailaṅga = "Rudra" q. v, p. 159, 196*.
- Rudra or Rudramā (the woman king) p. 160, 161.
- Rudradāman son of Caṣṭana, Ch. K. Satrapa of Kathiawad, p. 39nl, 183. Relation of his chronology with other princes, p. 40f. "chosen" as lord by his people, p. 40, twice defeats Śātakarpi, p. 41; His nearness of relation with Śātakarpi p. 41 and p. 4. of defeating Śātakarpi but sparing him; the Śātakarpi King he defeated; date of his regaining his kingdoms p. 42. Crowned as Mahākṣatrapa p. 42f. His date, p. 183, 185, 47f, 53, 200. His Junagad Inscription, p. 41, 21n, 36, 39nl, 200f.
- Rudradeva, His Amanakond Inscription, p. 213.
- Rudrāditya Minister of Muṣṭa, p. 111.
- Rudrasena, a Kṣatrapa, p. 200.
- Rudra Sāh, p. 2 20, date on his coin *ibid.*
- Rudrasena Svāmī, a Mahākṣatrapa, p. 200.

S

- Śa and Ga, in Cave Inscriptions very nearly similar. p. 268.
- Sah, = the Satrap d. of surāṣṭra, p. 215,

224; coins of the d., 225; dates on the coins, 220. See also Satrap, Ksatrapa.

Sahasika, one of the other names of Govinda IV, Rā K., p. 100

Sahasrārjuna, a prince, probably Cedi-Haihaya K., defeated by Kṛṣṇa III, Rās. K.; p. 277, 283*, 282, 323*, 331.

Salla Prawat or **Sela P.** p. 358; = **Sailendra**, immediately below.

Sailendra or **Sailendravarma**, = a Javanese K., p. 353*, 354n2, 355, 356; prince **Sela Prawat** mentioned by Sir Stamford Raffles, 353*, 354*, 355; his son 353n, 354n3, 355; his date, p. 358, their relation with **Papahkarapa**, p. 357.

Saindhava K. defeated by Tājikas, p. 77.

Saka(s), = Scythians; destroyed by Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi, p. 26, 33; the time of their making themselves masters of Decan, p. 33; established in India, p. 38, 361; country freed from them, p. 53; adopt Brahmanism, p. 57; date of their being driven out of Mahārāṣṭra, p. 203; foreigners, p. 223. Ś. establish the first Indian Colony in Java and its date, p. 361f.

Saka kingdoms in different parts of India mentioned by Greek Geographers, p. 38.

Sakarāja, a Śātavāhana K., mentioned in Kanheri Inscription, p. 32; the same as Vāsīṣṭhiputra Caturapana (or Caturparṇa) Śātakarṇi, p. 32 and n1; See under Vāsīṣṭhiputra, Śātakarṇi and Caturpana Śātakarṇi.

Sakasena, a Śātavāhana K., = Mādhari-putra Sakasena, p. 224n1, p. 324n1; not mentioned in Parāṇas; probably ruled at Dharanikot also, p. 49. See also under Mādhariputra and Śirisena.

Saka era, established by Śaka invaders, p. 384n, p. 39, p. 48; dates in Uṣavadhāta and Nahapāna's inscriptions refer to it, p. 38, 51, 223; Ksatrapa dates refer to it, p. 184; used after the over-throw of Ksatrapas, p. 223, used by Valabhī princes (earlier

opinion) p. 222, 250; used in Gujara-rath grants, p. 249-251, used for astronomical purposes, p. 389, its use in very Early times in the South doubtful, p. 423n; real meaning of Śaka era = Śaka-Nṛpa Kāla, p. 52, 223; its original signification (= race of foreigners) lost and came to mean an 'era,' p. 52, 341; early example of its use, p. 341, its traditional origin, p. 176, 213, 184. its founder Ādi Śaka, p. 360. Nahapāna or his lord as its originator? p. 222; as determined from the mention of a solar eclipse in Valabhī grant, p. 249f; used for astronomical purposes, p. 389.

Śaka era, (in a general way) p. 450, 222, 361, 391.

Śaka dates, or years, p. 389f, 397; (current), 179, 186, 190, 389; (past or expired) 179, 186, 396f, relation between C. and P. Śaka years, p. 384, 388f, 186; 170, 186; Śaka year corresponds to parts of two Christian years, p. 385 Bombay and Madras Modes of reckoning Ś. years 1864n, 1874n; p. 189, 385. See also Śālivāhana Era. Śākyamuni, (= Gotama Buddha), p. 360.

Śāhana, = Śālivāhana, q. v.

Śālivāhana, Prakrit corruption of Śātavāhana, p. 52; its other corruptions and equivalents, ibid; the king to whom a Prakrit anthology is attributed, p. 19, 55; defeats king of Ujjayini, p. 41; current legend about Ś., p. 52f; his birth, p. 53; his battle with and defeat of Vikramāditya, p. 53; Ś. of the legend = probably Puṣumāyi Śātakarṇi, p. 53; Ś. as founder of Śaka or Śālivāhana era, p. 267; his connection with that era, p. 53. Ś. mentioned as Śāntivāhana, p. 55; Ś. of Paithan, p. 41, 53. See also Śātavāhana and Āndhra-bhṛtya.

Śālivāhanas, Political and literary traditions about Śālivāhanas, pp. 52-56, 60.

Śālivāhana era. p. 249f; founded by Śālivāhana, p. 267; reason of attaching the name Śālivāhana to Śaka era, p. 53.

Śālivāhana Śaka, its real signification, p. 52. See also Śaka era.

Śāmba, son of Dādā, the commander of Mallugi, Yādava K., p. 147 & n2. Śānhkama, a Kālsauri K., last of the dynasty, p. 132.

Śānhkara, a Later Yādava K., defeated by Alla-ud-din Khilgi, p. 165; again defeated and put to death, p. 166.

Śānhkaragaṇa, a Cedi prince, p. 278. Śānhkṣobha (Rāja), his Inscription, p. 176.

Śāmudra = people on the coast, deprived of their "sleep" by Kṛṣṇa II, Rāj. K., p. 282*, 287, 299*, 302, 313.

Śāmvat (Vikrama) Era, p. 250. See also Vikrama Era.

Śāpaphulla or Jhāpaphulla the founder of the Southern Konkan Śāhāra D., p. 170&nn1&2.

Śāṅgamasihha, a feudatory, his Broach Inscription, p. 213.

Sanskrit works; historical matter in, p. 1; language, importing words and sound from alien races in S., p. 9; Sanskrit language of an Inscription as indicating its late date, p. 63f, S. alphabet carried to Java, p. 359; S. and Pali, and Vernacular; their mixture in Inscriptions, p. 366-368; S. compounds, their nature, p. 378.

Śāntivāhana, for Śālivāhana, (q. v.), p. 55.

Śāntivarman, a feudatory of Tailapa I, Later Cā. K., p. 206.

Śāptavarman for Sarvavarman, (q. v.), p. 55.

Śāriputra, disciple of Buddha, p. 365.

Śārva, one of the other names of Amoghavarṇa I, Rāj. K. See under Amoghavarṇa I, Rāj. K.

Sarvaśābbhūpa = Someśvara III, Later Cā. K., p. 124. See under Someśvara III, Later Cā. K.

Sarvākṣadālana, lieutenant in Govardhana of Pujarnyī Śātakarṇi, p. 26. Sarvavarman, Minister of Śātavāhana K., p. 54f.

Śātakarṇi, proper name of a Śātavāhana K. mentioned (as a Śātakani) in Nanaghat Inscription, p. 23, 32; third K. of Śātavāhana dy., p. 34; other forms of the name, p. 34, 303.

Śātavāhana, (as a proper name), name of a prince "Kumāro Śātavāhano" mentioned in Nanaghat Inscriptions, p. 23; (in a general way), p. 53.

Śātavāhanas (or Śātavāhana in a general sense), earlier king of the Ś. dy. mentioned in Nasik Inscriptions, pp. 25-29; mentioned in other Inscriptions, pp. 29f, 203; mentioned on Kolhapur coins, p. 30f; names of all kings referred to in Inscriptions and on coins, p. 32; these Ś. kings are all Āndhrabhṛtya Kings of Purāṇas, p. 34f; Ś. family its glory 're-established' by Gotami-putra, p. 26; Śātavāhana, its Prakrit form Śālivāhana, p. 41, 52; retained possession of Ksatrapa territories upto the time of Yajña-Sri, p. 42; Matrimonial alliances between Ś. and Ksatrapas, p. 42 Ś. Kings of Mahārāṣṭra and of Tailāṅga, p. 50; Ś. a family name; confusion caused by Ś. being regarded as a personal name, p. 52; literary traditions about Ś., p. 53ff; trade and commerce flourishing under them, p. 58; no hostility between Buddhists and Brahmins in S. times, p. 58; latest date of Ś., p. 63; their extinction, p. 65; eclipsing (for a time) Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 85; resume of S. dynasty, p. 102-3; duration and dates of Śāta rule, p. 203; Ś. rule displaced (for a time) by Nāhāpāna, p. 203; Ś. Inscriptions, places in Deccan where they are found, p. 202; their monuments, p. 208; their coins, p. 4. See also under Āndhrabhṛtyas and Śālivāhanas.

Sateraka, confidential councillor of the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, p. 31.

Satrap, (Persian) = Kṣatrapa (Skr.), p. 33.

Satrapa or Satrapa dynasty, a foreign dynasty; Hinduised; took Hindu names and wives, p. 39n1; their latest date, p. 183; S. superseded by Cālukyas in Mahārāṣṭra, p. 223, and by Valabhis (in Surāṣṭra), ibid; S. of Kathiawad, p. 361; of Ujjayinī, ibid; S. dates, p. 39n.

Sātyakīvaṁśa, of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 323*, 326*, 330.

(I) Sātyāśraya, second K. of the Later Cā. d. 112, 171; his date, p. 112, 188.

(II) Sātyāśraya, = Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 109 (see below).

Sātyāśrayadhruvarājendrarman, a feudatory of the Later Cālukyas?, p. 204.

Sātyāśraya Pulakeśi-Vallabha Mahārāja, full title of Pulakeśi I, Early Cā. K., p. 67.

Sātyāśraya Śrī Prthvī-Vallabha Mahārāja, full title of Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 70, 109 ("Sātyāśraya" only).

Śaurasenī language, p. 9.

Sāvaladevī, queen of Soma Kalacuri K., p. 343, 345*, 350, openly singing in the Audience Hall of the king, p. 343f, not the king's mistress, p. 343.

Scythians = Sakas, q. v.

Selaras, a Maratha family, connected with Śilāhāras?, p. 174. *

Seleucus, a general and successor of Alexander the Great, p. 33.

Sendraka(s) or Sindraka race, a family of minor chiefs, related to Cālukyas; their Inscriptions, p. 74, Sindraka race in S. near Mysore, p. 79; the name preserved in the Maratha family name Sinde?, p. 71.

Seuṇa, (candra) I, an Early Yādava K., the country and the town known after him, p. 138, 193*.

Seuṇa (candra) II, an Early Yādava K., p. 137&n, 142f, 144n2; saves Paramardideva (= Vikramāditya II Later Cā. K.), p. 142; S., his close ally, p. 143f, 194*.

Seuṇa (deva), of the Anjaneri Inscription different from the two preceding Seuṇas, p. 144f, Seuṇadeva a Mahāśāmanṭa, p. 145.

Seuṇadeśa, the name preserved in the word Khandesh, p. 138.

Sevalakura (the name being part of coin legend), probably a viceroy of Mādhariputra, Śātavāhana K., p. 30, 413f.

Shivaji, his endeavours to Sanskritise his Durbar, p. 223.

Śilāditya I, a Valabhi K. also called Dharmāditya, p. 201, 225, 227*, 230, 236f, 239f,* his revised date, p. 260.

Śilāditya II, a Valabhi prince, the fifteenth (last?) prince of the line, p. 201, 220f, 237f, 240, 250n, 259; his date (earlier opinion), 224 (revised date), 260.

Śilāditya of Malwa, p. 181f, 386f.

Śilāditya = Harṣavardhana, p. 72, same as Śilāditya of Malwa, above?

Śilāhara dynasty (generally), its princes calling the selves sovereigns of Tagara, p. 58, 169-174, pp. 208ff, their legendary origin, p. 169, 208, their three families founded in Rāṣṭras, p. 169, 208; the provinces over which the families ruled, p. 170; = Selar, p. 169, a Ś. gran*, p. 337.

Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, their history, pp. 169-174, 209, their genealogy, p. 175, their title, p. 174, their grants to Buddhists, p. 132f, the date of foundation in time of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣ. K., and extinction of the dy., in time of Śiṅghaṇa Yādava, p. 171, 174, 209; semi-independent, p. 173.

Śilāhāras of North Konkan, d. founded in time of Amoghavarṣa I, Rāṣ. K., p. 209; destroyed by Śiṅghaṇa Yā-

- dava, p. 151, 170; 210; their dates, p. 209.
- Śilāhāras of South Konkan; d. established in time of Kṛṣṇa I, Rāṣ. K., p. 210; 212; their genealogy, p. 170f; their capital, p. 170n2 and 171; uprooted by Kolhapur Śilāhāras, p. 172.
- Siṃhala K. defeated by Vinayāditya, Early Cā. K., p. 79, made tributary by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 104, 278, 284*, 291; submits to Someśvara II, Later Cā. K., p. 115.
- Sindhvaśa = Sinda race, its princes feudatory to Later Cālukyas, p. 207.
- Sindhuka, another form of Simuka, q. v.
- (I) Siṃghaṇa or Siṃharāja, an Early Yādava K., p. 143; contemporary with Vikramāditya II? *ibid.*, p. 144n2, 194*.
- (II) Siṃghaṇa, K. of the Later Yādava d., his date, his wars, and exploits p. 150f, his invasion of Gujarath, p. 151-154; its date, p. 154; mentioned as Siṃghaṇa in a Sanskrit work; treaty between him and Lavaṇa-prasāda p. 153n3; a paramount sovereign, p. 154n; 155f; the kings defeated by Siṃghaṇa's General, p. 155, S.'s vast empire, p. 155f; his latest date, p. 157; defeats K. of Dhārā, p. 195*, and Bhoja II, Kolhapur Śilāhāra, p. 162, 174; 195*, 197*, 206, his Gaddaka Inscription 151; a forgery? p. 144n2.
- (III) Siṃghaṇa, (deva) last K. of the Kalyāṇa Kalacuri d., his grant and date, p. 342.
- Simuka, a Śātavāhana K., mentioned in Nanaghat Inscriptions, p. 23, 32, different forms of the word, p. 34, the founder of the Āndhrabhr̥tya d. p. 34f, 44; his date, p. 48.
- Śipraka = Simuka, q. v.
- Śirīśena = Śakasena, p. 49; see under Śakasena.
- Siriyāśīa Satakanīśa as coin legend, p. 413. See under Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi.
- Siro Polemios = Śrī Puṣumāyi or vi of Inscriptions, p. 37, 183. See also Polemios, Puṣumāyi and Vā iṣṭhiputra Puṣumāyi Śātakarṇi.
- Siṇu (su) ka = Simuka, q. v.
- Śiva, worship growing under Rāṣṭra-kūṭas, p. 105.
- Śivagaṇa, his Kota Inscription, p. 213.
- Śivaskanda, a Śātavāhana K., p. 34, 48; dates of his reign in Tallaṅgaṇa, p. 50.
- Śivaśrī, a Śātavāhana K., brother and successor of Puṣumāyi, p. 48f, his dates, p. 50; = Vedaśīras of Purāṇas, p. 34.
- Sixty year cycle, p. 180; prevailing in Deccan, p. 421n.
- Si-Yu-Ki (= Itinerary of Hwan-Tsang?) p. 181.
- Skandabhāṭa, a Valabhi minister, and a pious Buddhist, p. 218f, 226, 239f.
- Skandagupta of the Gupta d., his Inscription, p. 200f; his date, p. 258f.
- Śodāsa, a Kṣatrapa, p. 38n.
- (I) Soma or Somadeva or Someśvar, a K. of a branch of the Kalacuri dy., p. 131f, (son of Vijaya K.). his grant p. 340-352, 207; the grant made at the instance of Soma's queen; the circumstances under which it was made, p. 342, 344*, 345f, 348.
- (II) Soma or Someśvara, a ruler of Konkana, defeated by Mahādeva Yādava K., last prince of Thana Śilāhara d., p. 160f; his dates, p. 161; 196*, 198*, 21.
- (III) Soma (deva) son of Vetugideva, belonging to an offshoot of Later Cā.-d., p. 127.
- Someśvara I, a Later Cā. K., his other names, p. 113, his date, p. 113, 118; his reign p. 113ff; founder of the town of Kalyāṇa, Later Cālukya capital, p. 144f; his war with Bhoja of Dhārā, p. 113f; other wars, 114; drowns himself, p. 115f; his virtues, Bilhāṇa's account of him, p. 115f.
- Someśvara II, a Later Cā. K., p. 115, his reign, p. 116ff; his title p. 116, 207, his character, his intentions

- against his brother Vikramāditya II, p. 116; fratricidal war between the two brothers, p. 116ff; defeated and taken prisoner, p. 118
- Someśvara III, a Later Cā. K., p. 123, 183, 207; his reign p. 123f, his titles, p. 123, 124; a learned K., p. 123f, author of *Mānasollāsa*, *ibid.*
- Someśvara IV, a Later Cā. K., takes back his hereditary dominions from the Kalacuris, p. 126, 132 and establishes him. If at Annegiri, p. 126; his chief general; his other name, *ibid.* last K. of the d., *ibid.*
- Somnath, date of its destruction, p. 391.
- Sounds, originally unknown to Sanskrit, imported into it, p. 9.
- South or South India or Southern India; no complete absorption of alien races in the S., p. 10, S. art different from Northern art, p. 10; S. countries known and unknown to Pāṇini, p. 14; notices of S. in ancient literature and inscriptions p. 11-20, S. languages not derived from Sanskrit, p. 10 S. grants (generally), p. 356. For S. and Java, see under Java.
- Sovideva, = Soma, Kalucuri K., q. v.
- Śramaka, Governor of Govardhana in Gotamīputra Śātakarṣi's time, p. 27.
- Śrījayaśraya, as coin legend on seals of main Cā. d., p. 264.
- Śrīrāja, an Early Yādava K., = Rājūṭi, q. v.
- Śrīvallabha, one of the other names of Amoghavarṣa I, Rāṣ. K., p. 319 322*, 326*, 331. [See also Vallabha = Amoghavarṣa I.]
- Śrīvallabha, one of the other names of Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 283*, 289, 299*, 303, 314*. [See also Vallabha = Kṛṣṇa III].
- Śrīvallabha, one of the other names of Govinda III, p. 92.
- Śrīvallabha Senānandārāja, maternal uncle of Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 74.
- Śrīviśamasiddhi, as coin legend of Eastern Cālukya d. p. 264.
- 65 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]
- Śrīyāśraya Śrīāditya Yuvarāja, of the Gujarath Cā. d. p. 75, 205.
- "Strakūṭaka" d. = Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Trailkūṭaka ? p. 65.
- Subāhu, a sovereign of the Yādava d. p. 13*.
- (I) Subhatuṅga, one of the other names of Kṛṣṇa I, Rāṣ. K., q. v., p. 87, 276.
- (II) Subhatuṅga, one of the other names of Kṛṣṇa II, Rāṣ. K., q. v., p. 319.
- Sumati of Vidarbha (mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*), p. 22.
- Suṅgas or, Suṅga dynasty; Contemporary with Kāṇvas, p. 44 and nn; its duration acc. to Purāṇas, p. 33.
- Suṅgabhr̥tyas = Kāṇvas, p. 44.
- Surānanda, a poet "ornament of the Cedi Maṇḍala," p. 278.
- Suvarṇavarṣa, one of the other names of Govinda IV. Rāṣ. K., q. v. p. 100.
- Suviśākha, a Pahlava Viceroy of Surāṣṭra and Ānarta, p. 39n1.
- Syrians, on Malabar Coast called Pārasikas, q. v., p. 79.
- T**
- Tagara Sovereigns = Śīlāhāras, 174.
- Tājikas (= Arabs) defeated by Pulakeśi of Gujarath Cā. branch, p. 77.
- Tallaṅga K. defeated by Rāmacandra Later Yādava K., p. 161.
- Tallaṅga, K. defeated by Mahādeva, Later Yādava K., p. 197. See also Tillaṅga, Telaṅga.
- Tallapa I, Founder of the Later Cā. Dynasty, regains Cālukya power, p. 81; date of his doing so and of his accession, p. 105, 109, 188; belonged to a collateral branch of the Cā. dy., p. 109; his conquests, p. 111; defeats Muṇja, p. 112; duration of T's reign, p. 112. T. invaded by Bhoja ? p. 113f; 109, 206f.
- Tallapa II, of the Later Cā. dy. p. 125; his other names, his latest date, *ibid.*, p. 207.
- Talla(pa) III, (original misprint) for Tallapa II, above ? driven from Kalyāṇa, p. 128.
- Tamil Language, p. 10.

Taṅka, king of, defeated by Dantidurga Rāṣ. K. p. 86.

Tā. 2, a Buddhist deity, p. 353*, 354, 356; her Temple (in Java) p. 353*, 354.

Telaṅga, King of, established by Kṛṣṇa Later Yādava K., p. 157, see also Tailaṅga, Tillāṅga.

Telugu Language, p. 10.

Temples, built for Buddhists &c. p. 57.

Tesuka, another spelling of Vesugi, q. v.

Tiastenes of Ozene mentioned by Ptolemy = Caṣṭana of Ujjayinī, p. 39, 183f.

Tillāṅga, Lord of, killed by Bhīllama V, Yādava K., p. 195*, defeated by Mahā ava, Yādava K., p. 196* see also Tailaṅga and Telaṅga.

Town Corporation, under Śātavāhanas = Nigamasabhā q. v.

Trade guilds, under Śātavāhanas, their efficient organisation, p. 61.

Trading classes, supporters of Jainism, p. 132.

Traiṅkūṣaka Dynasty, or family, date of its foundation, p. 65, lack of information about the family, *ibid*; extent of its dominions, p. 204, probably same as Cedi family, p. 65, = Strakūṣaka dynasty? p. 65.

Traiṅkūṣa(ka) era, same as Cedi era, p. 65, 16, its initial date, p. 204.

Trailokyamahādevī, Queen of Vikramāditya II, Later Cālukya king, p. 80.

(I) Trailokyamalla, Another name of Someśvara I, Later Cā. K., q. v.

(II) Trailokyamalla, Another name of Tailapa II, p. 125.

Tribhuvanamalla, Another name of Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 109, 117, 132, 147, 207. See also under Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K.

Trikaliṅgas = Telaṅgas, K. of, defeated by Jaitrapāla. Yādava K., p. 149f.

Tuṅga, the family from which the Rāṣtrakūṣa kings sprang, p. 276; a frequent ending in Rāṣ. names, *ibid*; p. 281*, 286, 299*, 312*.

Tulupopetu = Dhruvapaṇu (q. v.) mentioned by Hwan Tssang p. 387.

Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, p. 179f.

U

Udayana, a King mentioned (for Śātavāhana) by Tārānātha, p. 55.

Ujjain King, popular stories about him, p. 41, 53.

Uṣabhadāta (different from Uṣavadāta below) owner of a field, mentioned in Nasik Inscriptions; p. 27.

Uṣavadāta, son of Dinika; and son-in-law of Nahapāna; his Charities; mentioned in Nasik Inscriptions, p. 23f. his exploits, p. 24f, his depositing money with guilds of traders; his charities to Buddhists, *ibid*; dates of his benefactions, p. 36; his charities to Brahmans, p. 58, his Nasik Inscription, p. 61, 38n1, 203, 222, his history as gathered from Nasik Inscriptions, p. 23ff. The language of his Pali Inscription, p. 367; his Sanskrit Inscription, p. 367, 370f, 377, p. 380ff; his dates refer to Śaka Era, p. 38.

Utkala, King of, defeated by Mallagi Yādava K., p. 194*.

Uttamabhadras, a Kṣatriya tribe mentioned in Uṣavadāta's Inscription, p. 24.

V

Vaddiga or Vādugi I, an Early Yādava K., p. 138&n4, 145, an adherent of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣ. K., p. 141; 139, 145, p. 193* (as Bādugi).

Vādugi II, an Early Yādava K., p. 142, p. 193*.

Vāghela branch of of the Cālukya Dynasty, p. 152.

Vajradhara, a K. in the time of Mahādeva Yādava, p. 196*.

Vākāṣaka Dynasty, its Inscriptions at Ajanta p. 211f.

Vākpatirāja(?), his Grant, p. 355f.

Valabhīs or Valabhī Kings or Valabhī dynasty; originally dependents of Guptas, p. 178, 182; afterwards became independent, p. 182; V. succe-

- sore of Guptas (in Gujarath), p. 259. Earlier of them called Senāpatī, p. 224; their grants to Brahmans and Buddhists, p. 226, 239; belonged to the Māhāvāra Sect, p. 238n; their distinctive epithets, p. 237f; their revised dates, p. 260; their genealogy, p. 236; P. 264; used Śaka era (Earlier opinion), p. 224, 240; used Gupta Era (Revised opinion), p. 178; date of the foundation of the dynasty, 201f; its duration, p. 221; tradition about it and its founder, p. 258f.
- Valabhi Chronology and Valabhi Era, pp. 257-260; general question about it, revised opinion, p. 259f; (earlier opinion), p. 222, 258; origin and introduction of the era in Sarāṣṭra, p. 178, 222; its starting point, p. 2 23f, 250f, 258, 260, 391. See also Ballaba Era. Valabhi Era = Gupta Era, p. 391.
- Valabhi Copperplates, deciphered and translated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. 214-238; pp. 239-242; (Morbi copper-plate), pp. 243-245; deciphered up to end of 1871, p. 234ff; preserved in the Museum of the BBRAS, p. 235f; figured date in a V. C., p. 239; 235f, 259.
- Valabhi Grants, their characters different from those in Nasik Inscriptions, p. 259; resembling Cālukya characters, p. 260; names of fields occurring in them are of uncertain reading, p. 238; sameness of description in them, p. 239; to Buddhists and their Vihāras, *ibid*, the numerals in them, p. 201.
- Valabhi dates, p. 177ff, 214ff, p. 181, 257f, 388.
- Valabhi years, are current years? p. 388.
- Valabhi kingdom, its exact limits uncertain, p. 201.
- Valabhi times, no sectarian animosity then, p. 226.
- Vallabha, as name of the last Cālukya King Kīrtivarman II, q. v., p. 86.
- as name of Amoghavarṣa I, Rāṣ. K., p. 93, 106, 321.
- as title of Early Cālukyas, p. 106.
- as title of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 106.
- as another name of Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 106, 175.
- as another name of Govinda II, p. 89.
- Vallabhanarendra, as title of Vijayāditya or Vikramāditya II, Early Cā. King, p. 77.
- as title of Govinda III, Rāṣ. K., p. 106f.
- as title of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings, p. 107.
- Vallabharāja, as title of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings, p. 107; its Vernacular or Prakrit form is the origin of the Balharā (q. v.) of the Arabs, p. 107.
- Vaṁśāśekhara, a Pāṇḍyaking, his date, p. 422n.
- Vanga, K., defeated by Vijaya Kalacuri, p. 341, 344*, 348.
- Vappuga or Vappuka, a prince killed by Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣ. K., p. 283*, 289, 299*, 303, 314, 296, 310. Another name of Rājāditya Cola? p. 310. see also Bappuka.
- Vāsisthī, the wife of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, p. 27, 29.
- Vāsiṣṭhiputra Cata(u)rapana or Catusparṇa Śātakarṇi, A Śātavāhana King, p. 29, 31f, 50, 203; married a (Mahā) Kṣatrapa lady, p. 31, 42, 53. See also under Caturapana or Catusparṇa Śātakarṇi, above, and also under Śakarāja.
- Vāsiṣṭhiputra (Śrī) Puṣṭamāy(v)i Śātakarṇi, A Śātavāhana K., the Nasik cave Inscription dated in his reign, p. 25f. "Lord of Navanara" p. 26; orders an exchange of fields granted to a Buddhist sect, *ibid*. P. 32, p. 48, 203; his date, p. 27f; his contemporaneous reign with Gotamīputra, *ibid*. See also (II) Puṣṭamāyī, Polemios and Siro Polemios.
- Vāsiṣṭhiputrassa, Viḷḷ(di)vāyakurasa, as coin legend, p. 30, 413. See also

- Vijivāyaka, and Baleocouros.
- Vastupāla, minister of Vāghela (Gujarath) princes, p. 152, 153n2, 338.
- (I) Vāsudeva, mentioned by Pāṇini, p. 6.
- (II) Vāsudeva, successor of Huṣka, p. 38n.
- Vatā K. defeats a Gauḍa K., p. 90.
- defeated and his Umbrella, captured by Dhruva, Rāṣ. K., p. 90, 319.
- Vatsarāja, a prince of the Kanauj Gurjara dynasty, p. 212.
- Velugideva, son of Karṇadeva, of an offshoot of the Later Cā. dy. p. 127.
- Vehgi, King of, subdued by Govinda III, Rāṣ. K., p. 91.
- Vesugi or Vesuka or Vesuga = Tesuka, an Early Yādava, K., p. 141f, 193°.
- Vijambā, a Cedi-Haihaya princess, married to Indra-Nityavarṣa, Rāṣ. K., = Sanskrit Vidyāmbā, p. 98&n3, p. 278.
- Vijayabhaṭṭāraka, wife of Candraditya, son of Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., p. 73f, 204.
- (I) Vijayāditya, An Early Cā. K., p. 79; his exploits and fortunes, *ibid*; his dates, p. 79; & 271; duration of his reign, p. 79; his donations to Jains, p. 81; 111, 204, 262.
- (II) Vijayāditya, of Kolhapur Śiṣhara dynasty, p. 209.
- Vijayanagara, dynasty, p. 221, 59. Its prince: & their Inscriptions, p. 211.
- Vijayarāja, a Gujarath Cālukya prince, p. 77f.
- Vijayarka, a Kolhapur Śiṣhara prince, feudatory of Tailapa II Later Cā. K., rises against Tailapa II, p. 125; his date; his relation with other princes; assists Vijaya Kālacuri, p. 173&n3, 174, 188.
- Vijayasāha(sena), h's date, p. 63; his occupation of Mahārāṣṭra, *ibid*.
- Vijaya, a Śātavāhana king, dates of his reign in Tallāṅga, p. 50.
- Vijjala or Vijjapa, a Cedi Kālacuri king; feudatory of Tailapa II, Later Cā. K., p. 125, 128, 341; rises against T. and proclaims himself independent, *ibid*; his title, p. 128; marches against Bhoja II, Kolhapur Śiṣhara prince, p. 173f; his wars with his neighbours, p. 341; his relations with Basava, p. 130. Account of Vijjapa's assassination by Basava p. 126, 129, 130f; date thereof, p. 131, Jain version of Vijjapa's assassination, 131. V.'s persecution of Lingayats, p. 130. Vijjapa, a Jain? p. 131, 173n3, 344°, 347f.
- Vikrama of Ujjain, see Vikramāditya of Ujjayini below.
- Vikramadeva I, a Cera K., his date, p. 421n, 422n.
- Vikramāditya or Vikrama of Ujjayini (the legendary king) p. 19, 53, 176f; current legend about him, p. 53; his invasion of Paithan, *ibid*; founder of Vikrama Era, (q. v.), p. 267, defeated by Śālivāhana, p. 53.
- Vikramāditya I, an Early Cā. K., 'Priyatanaya' and successor of Pulakeśi II, p. 75; his reign, p. 75f; early disturbances in his reign; defeats S. Indian kings, 75; establishment of the Gujrat Cā. dy., p. 75f; his date, p. 271; 205, 262f, 269.
- Vikramāditya I; a Later Cā. K., p. 111f, 114; his date and reign, p. 112.
- Vikramāditya II, an Early Cā. K., p. 80, 262; his date, p. 80, 272; his Southern Wars; his Charities; restores to the Kēśi Rājāsīrheśvara temple, its wealth; p. 80; his marriage relations with Haihayas, p. 80, 128; his gifts to Jains, p. 82.
- Vikramāditya II, a Later Cālukya King; ablest son of Someśvara I; always employed by his father to fight his wars, p. 115; his earlier wars, *ibid*; his relations with his brother Someśvara II, p. 116f. V. leaves the Capital, p. 116; pursued by his brother; war between him and his brother; defeats his brother and crowns himself king p. 118; his subsequent career, p. 118f; abolishes Śaka Era and founds a new one, p. 118;

- his other names, p. 117f; the town founded by him p.121; estimate of his character and rule; his monuments; great security and happiness enjoyed by his subjects; a patron of learning p. 121; learned men at his court, 121f; number of his Inscriptions; the greatest prince of the Later Cā. dy., p. 123; 119, 133, 143, 206, 210; his successful opposition to the Hoysala Yādavas, p. 147; his younger brother rises against him, p. 119f.
- Vikramārka**, one of the other names of Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., immediately above, q. v.
- Vikrama era**, or dates; No trace of it in early centuries of Kian era, p. 184; not applicable to Satrap or Kṣatrapa dates, *ibid*; not used in Cālukya records and not known in South, p. 265f; 223f, 246f, 397; used both with "Current" and "expired" years, p. 390.
- Vilas**, a people, p. 78.
- Vijī(di)vāyakura**, probably a Viceroy of Vāsiṣṭhīputra and Gotamīputra; the name occurring as part of coin-legend, p. 30, 413f. See also under Balacucras, and Vāsiṣṭhīputrasa Vijī(di)vāyakurasa.
- Village Communities under the Śāta-vāhanas**, p. 61.
- Villapa**, King of Mangalvedhe, defeated by Bhīllama V, Yādava K., p. 148&n1, 194*. See also Bhīllapa.
- Vimalāditya**, a Later Cā. prince (outside the Main Dy.), p. 110.
- (I) **Vinayāditya**, Early Cā. King; his dates, p. 78, 271; assists his father in his Southern wars; his own mastery over Southern Kings, p. 78; his war with the Paramount K. of N. India, its date, p. 79; defeats Haihayas, p. 128. P. 111, 205, 262.
- (II) **Vinayāditya**, founder of Hoysala dynasty, p. 120.
- Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayasraya Maṅgalarāja**, of the Gujarath Cā. d., p. 75.
- Vira Balliṣa**, a Hoysala or Southern Yādava prince, p. 126, 126; defeats Brahma or Bomma (q. v.), p. 147; becomes master of Kuntala, p. 149; his Inscription, *ibid*.
- Viradhavala**, a Vāghela prince, p. 153f, 153n2.
- Vira Nārāyaṇa**, another name of Amoghavarṇa I, p. 322, 326*, 336; 93.
- Viraśaiva faith**, p. 131. See also Liṅgāyat Religion.
- Virasena**, son of Damari and Śivadatta, an Ābhira K., his Nasik Inscription, its characters and language, p. 63.
- Virasoma**, another name of Someśvara IV, Later Cā. K., p. 126. See also under Someśvara IV.
- Visala or Visaladeva**, a Vāghela prince; Sovereign of Gujarath, p. 155 & n2, 157; at war with and defeated by Kṛṣṇa Yādava K, p. 157, 159; 195*.
- Viśamasiddhi**, another name of Viṣṇuvardhana Cā', q. v.
- Viṣṇu Gopa**, a Cera K., p. 420
- Viṣṇupālita**, Lieutenant of Gotamīputra Śātakarṣi, p. 27.
- (I) **Viṣṇuvardhana**, younger brother and Viceroy of Pulakeśi II, Early Cā. K., his dominions; conquered Veṅgi, p. 73; founds a different dynasty (at the latter place) p. 73; p. 263f; p. 204.
- (II) **Viṣṇuvardhana**, a prince of the Hoysala Yādavas, invades dominions of Vikramāditya II, Later Cā. K., p. 120, 147.
- Viṣṇu worship growing under Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings**, p. 105.
- Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) incarnation later than Rāma Incarnation**, p. 16.
- Viśva Sāha (Sena)**, last Kṣatrapa of Mahārāṣṭra? his date, p. 63; grandson of Rudra Sāh, p. 220; his date, p. 220, 216.
- Viśva Sūrha Sāh**, son of Rudra Sāh, p. 220, his date, *ibid*.
- Vītarāga**, a Gūrjjara K., p. 248, 252, 254 = Jayabhaṭa, Gūrjjara K., q. v.
- Voddiyavvā**, an Early Yādava Queen; p. 129,

W

William IV, King of England, p. 319.
Woods, originally unknown, imported into Sanskrit, p. 32.

Y

Yādavas, Materials for their history, p. 136; their genealogy as given in some MSS of Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa, p. 136&nt; their Early History, pp. 136, 145; their later History pp. 147-167. Early Yādava Dynasty = Yādavas of Sauvāhika, p. 146. Later Yādava Dynasty = Yādavas of Devagiri, p. 136&nt; 168. Probable date of the foundation of the Early Yādava Dynasty, and its total duration p. 145. Transferring their allegiance from Rāṣṭrakūṭas to Later Ch. Dynasty p. 141; their relations with the latter, p. 143; tributaries of Later Chlukyas of Kalyāṇa; *ibid.* Yā. (Later) overrunning Vāghela Territory, p. 152; Yādava Empire under Siṅghana, p. 155f. Yādavas, Lords of Mathurā, p. 137. Epithets of Later Yādavas, p. 155f; Genealogy of Early Yādavas, p. 146; of the Later Yādavas, p. 168 A "New" Yādava dynasty, p. 136.
Yādavas, (of North) destroy Later Ch. power, p. 136; deprive the Kalachuris of their dominions, p. 132.

— (of South) destroy Later Ch. power, p. 136.

— their Inscriptions, p. 307; their grants, p. 136f.

Yādava, family or race, p. 135, 307f; its Śātyaki branch, p. 276.

Yādava or Yādavahā, p. 140, 141n.

Yādavas, under the mythological Kṛṣṇa referred to p. 30.

Yājñasena of Vidarbha (in the Māhāvīkṣṇimitra), p. 22.

Yājñasri Śātakarṣi, Śātavāhana K., his name occurring on Coins and Inscriptions; his succession to the throne; his full name; p. 32, 34, 48f. = Gotamīputra of Koṭhapur coins, p. 48; his coins found in Tailāṅga, p. 48; ruler of Mahārāṣṭra, *ibid.*; date of his death, *ibid.*; dates of his reign, p. 50; his Supārśi coin, p. 31n, p. 42. See also Sīri Yājña Śātakanisa.

Yavanas; Bactrian Greek races, 26, 33, 361. See also Yona, below.

Year, an Astronomical Y. of 400 days, p. 399.

Yona, mentioned in Aśoka's Inscriptions p. 17n. See also Yavana above.

Yuddhamalla, of the Later Ch. Dynasty (twice) p. 110

Yudhiṣṭhira, (Pāṇḍava) as founder of an era known after him, p. 267.

Yuvarāja, a Cedi prince, p. 377f.

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ERRATA

Minor misprints (such as those of spelling &c.) are not here shown.

In the genealogy on p. 108, read 675 Ś. *for* 875 (in No. 6, Dantidurga); and read Akalavarsa *for* Amoghavarṣa I (in No. 12, Kṛṣṇa II).

